The world famous Taj Mahal is but one of the many magnificent buildings erected by the Mughal emperors who ruled India from the early sixteenth century through to the middle of the nineteenth. To date scholars have considered the most splendid of these works built by the rulers, while the lesser known or remotely situated structures have been ignored altogether. In this volume, Professor Catherine Asher considers the entire scope of architecture built under the auspices of the imperial Mughals and their subjects.

Professor Asher covers the precedents of Mughal style and traces the architectural development of each monarchical reign. She shows that the evolution of imperial Mughal architectural taste and idiom was directly related to political and cultural ideology. This was the case from the planting of an ordered and regular garden, symbolic of paradise, and the building of state mosques, to the construction of an entire planned city, indicative of the emperor's role as father to his people. Construction outside the center, which was often carried out by the nobility, was as important as developments within the major cities. Catherine Asher demonstrates how these agents of the emperor curried favor with their rulers by building large and permanent edifices in the imperial Mughal style.

Even though Mughal authority diminished considerably in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the imperial Mughal architectural style and taste served as a model for that in developing splinter states. This book shows how it represented the cultural and social values of the Mughals, which were cherished by Muslims living increasingly under western colonial rule.

In *Architecture of Mughal India* Catherine Asher presents the first comprehensive study of Mughal architectural achievements. The work is lavishly illustrated and will be widely read by students and specialists of South Asian history and architecture as well as by anyone interested in the magnificent buildings of the Mughal empire.

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THE NEW CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA

Architecture of Mughal India

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THE NEW CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA

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Although the original *Cambridge History of India*, published between 1922 and 1937, did much to formulate a chronology for Indian history and describe the administrative structures of government in India, it has inevitably been overtaken by the mass of new research published over the last fifty years.

Designed to take full account of recent scholarship and changing conceptions of South Asia's historical development, *The New Cambridge History of India* will be published as a series of short, self-contained volumes, each dealing with a separate theme and written by a single person, within an overall four-part structure. As before, each will conclude with a substantial bibliographical essay designed to lead non-specialists further into the literature.

The four parts are as follows:

I The Mughals and their Contemporaries.

II Indian States and the Transition to Colonialism.

III The Indian Empire and the Beginnings of Modern Society.

IV The Evolution of Contemporary South Asia.

A list of individual titles already published and those in preparation will be found at the end of the volume.

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THE NEW CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA

I : 4

Architecture of Mughal India

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

The New Cambridge History of India covers the period from the beginning of the sixteenth century. In some respects it marks a radical change in the style of Cambridge Histories, but in others the editors feel that they are working firmly within an established academic tradition.

During the summer of 1896, F. W. Maitland and Lord Acton between them evolved the idea for a comprehensive modern history. By the end of the year the Syndics of the University Press had committed themselves to the *Cambridge Modern History*, and Lord Acton had been put in charge of it. It was hoped that publication would begin in 1899 and be completed by 1904, but the first volume in fact came out in 1902 and the last in 1910, with additional volumes of tables and maps in 1911 and 1912.

The *History* was a great success, and it was followed by a whole series of distinctive Cambridge histories covering English Literature, the Ancient World, India, British Foreign Policy, Economic History, Medieval History, the British Empire, Africa, China and Latin America; and even now other new series are being prepared. Indeed, the various Histories have given the Press notable strength in the publication of general reference books in the arts and social sciences.

What has made the Cambridge Histories so distinctive is that they have never been simply dictionaries or encyclopedias. The Histories have, in H. A. L. Fisher's words, always been 'written by an army of specialists concentrating the latest results of special study'. Yet, as Acton agreed with the Syndics in 1896, they have not been mere compilations of existing material but original works. Undoubtedly many of the Histories are uneven in quality, and some have become out of date very rapidly, but their virtue has been that they have consistently done more than simply record an existing state of knowledge: they have tended to focus interest on research and they have provided a massive stimulus to further work. This has made their publication doubly worthwhile and has distinguished them intellectually from other sorts of reference book. The editors of the *New Cambridge History of India* have acknowledged this in their work.

The original *Cambridge History of India* was published between 1922 and 1937. It was planned in six volumes, but of these, volume II dealing with the period between the first century AD and the Muslim invasion of India never appeared. Some of the material is still of value, but in many respects it is now

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out of date. The last fifty years have seen a great deal of new research on India, and a striking feature of recent work has been to cast doubt on the validity of the quite arbitrary chronological and categorical way in which Indian history has been conventionally divided.

The editors decided that it would not be academically desirable to prepare a new *History of India* using the traditional format. The selective nature of research on Indian history over the past half-century would doom such a project from the start and the whole of Indian history could not be covered in an even or comprehensive manner. They concluded that the best scheme would be to have a *History* divided into four overlapping chronological volumes, each containing about eight short books on individual themes or subjects. Although in extent the work will therefore be equivalent to a dozen massive tomes of the traditional sort, in form the *New Cambridge History of India* will appear as a shelf full of separate but complementary parts. Accordingly, the main divisions are between I. *The Mughals and their Contemporaries*, II. *Indian States and the Transition to Colonialism*, III. *The Indian Empire and the Beginnings of Modern Society*, and IV. *The Evolution of Contemporary South Asia*.

Just as the books within these volumes are complementary so too do they intersect with each other, both thematically and chronologically. As the books appear they are intended to give a view of the subject as it now stands and to act as a stimulus to further research. We do not expect the *New Cambridge History of India* to be the last word on the subject but an essential voice in the continuing discussion about it.

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PREFACE

Just over fifty years have passed since Percy Brown summarized what was then known about Mughal architecture in his fifty-page contribution to volume IV of the original *Cambridge History of India*. We have learned a great deal since then as we have probed primarily the imperial monuments produced under Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. But our focus has been more on individual monuments than on the larger picture of Mughal architecture. That comprehensive view must be based on an analysis of individual monuments, but how those monuments relate to common themes and to the larger enterprise of the Mughal empire is the tale most importantly told.

Volumes in the *New Cambridge History of India* series are intended to summarize what is currently known about a subject. This volume, however, seeks to go beyond that mandate both by presenting a great deal of new material and also by providing a framework for understanding Mughal architecture. As indicated by the bibliographical essays at the end of this volume, much of the material presented here is drawn from old field reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, list-like memoirs on sites, and epigraphical reports. But many of the monuments are "discoveries" I made in the course of extensive field work and are presented here for the first time. I see this volume, though, as much more than a catalogue presentation of monuments. Rather, it represents a first-ever attempt to organize this vast body of raw data – essentially the monuments themselves – into a coherent framework. The results are intended more as a springboard from which future research might commence than as a final statement on Mughal architecture.

When I was first approached by the editor of the series to write a volume on Mughal architecture, the unstated understanding was that it would essentially cover the first 150 years of Mughal art, with an emphasis on the period from 1565 to 1658, traditionally considered the apex of artistic production. However, extending the study of architectural production to 1858, the end of the Mughal regime, better reflects historical and cultural developments throughout the period.

This work is organized chronologically. It commences with a short chapter on the precedents of the Mughal style. More coverage here is given to Indian precedents than to Timurid ones because this volume belongs to a series on India. Subsequent chapters coincide with monarchical reigns. Chapter 2 is

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concerned with the period when India was ruled by the first Mughal emperors, Babur and Humayun; chapter 3 is concerned with Akbar's reign, a period of consolidation and nascent maturity in Mughal history; chapter 4 covers Jahangir's rule, a time usually regarded as a transition between Akbar's innovative reforms and Shah Jahan's formalization of the Mughal state; chapter 5 considers Shah Jahan and the crystallization of Mughal architecture; chapter 6 concerns architecture under Aurangzeb and chapter 7 deals with architecture under the later Mughal rulers and their successor states. This last period, one rarely considered in any discussion of Mughal art, is traditionally regarded as a period of decline and decadence. I have here attempted to consider this material on less judgmental grounds. In addition, much of the material covered in chapter 7 is not strictly Mughal. Rather, it concerns monuments constructed under Islamic successor states in the case of Awadh and Murshidabad, under Hindu states in the case of Dig and Jaipur, or even under a Sikh state in the case of Amritsar. This material is included for two reasons. On the one hand there is an issue of stylistic links, but more significantly there is the issue of ideological links between the Mughals and these states. This is especially apparent with Awadh and Murshidabad, the successor states discussed at greatest length.

Each chapter is roughly divided into two sections. The first concerns imperial patronage. The second section, intended as a mirror of the first, discusses patronage of the nobility, regardless of religious affiliation, within the various regions of the Mughal empire. I have chosen to discuss what might be considered provincial architecture at length because it is the tension between the architecture of the center and that in the provinces that reflects the very nature of the Mughal state. This approach delves into issues of periphery versus center that are, in essence, insights into the carefully yet constantly fluctuating relationships between the ruler and nobility, vital for the maintenance of the Mughal state. Thus a study of such patronage provides insight into the motivation to build as well as into the relationship between the emperor and his nobles. The Mughal state and its subjects are here considered from the Mughal point of view. That is the focus, for example, of comments on the work of active architectural patrons such as Raja Man Singh and Raja Bir Singh who were high-ranking Mughal amirs yet Hindu rajas in their own right. Mughal architecture in this volume thus transcends a narrow definition that might limit the focus to imperial or Muslim architecture. Rather, Mughal architecture as discussed in this book reflects the nature of a state that relies on its nobility as a link with lesser princes, landholders and ordinary subjects and incorporates its non-Muslim majority into its administration.

The term India is used throughout this volume in a historical sense and includes the modern republics of India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh.

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The geographical sub-divisions roughly reflect modern regions. Modern names are used: for example, Rajasthan in lieu of Suba Ajmer or Suba Agra. This is done for general ease of comprehension; those who wish to understand the Mughal political divisions should consult Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi, 1982.

The spellings adopted here generally conform to common ones. Joseph Schwartzberg, *A Historical Atlas of South Asia*, Chicago, 1978, is the basis for spelling of place names. Transcriptions of less well-known Persian words are adapted from Steingass, *Persian–English Dictionary*. No diacriticals are used, except the *ʿain*, indicated by ʿ. Words found in English language dictionaries are not treated as foreign; others are italicized. On p. xxv is a glossary including most terms used here.

The Islamic lunar calendar does not correspond with the solar Gregorian one used by much of the modern world. Thus a monument dated in a particular year of the Muslim, or Hijra, era, will usually fall into a frame corresponding to contiguous halves of two solar years. Thus, for example, the Jamiʿ mosque at Fatehpur Sikri, bearing the date 982 AH, was built in 1574–75. However, monuments here dated to the equivalent of a single Gregorian year have a specific day or month in their dedicatory inscription, thus allowing a more precise Gregorian date to be determined. In a few cases, textual or historical references permit use of a single year.

The photographs, unless credited otherwise, were taken by the author. In many cases the monuments, once situated in open gardens or unimpeded space, are now part of crowded urban developments. Thus many views, less than ideal and certainly not idyllic, are unavoidable.

The American Institute of Indian Studies, the Smithsonian Institution, the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at MIT and Harvard, the University of Minnesota and the American Council of Learned Societies helped to support this research. For this, I am most grateful.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ain	Abu al-Fazl, *A'in-i Akbari*
Akbar Nama	Abu al-Fazl, *Akbar Nama*
ARIE	*Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*
ASIR	*Archaeological Survey of India Reports*
EIAPS	*Epigraphia Indica: Arabic and Persian Supplement*
List	*List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments: Delhi Province*
Maasir	Samsam al-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan and ᶜAbd al-Hayy, *Maasir al-Umara*
Sourcebook	G. D. Lowry and M. Brand, *Fatehpur-Sikri: A Sourcebook*
Tuzuk	Nur al-Din Muhammad Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*

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GLOSSARY

aiwan	usually a vaulted entrance or hall, but in Mughal India a pillared gallery
aramgah	chamber within a palace for rest or sleeping
arcuated	construction dependent on arches or the arch principle
bagh	garden
Baghdadi octagon	an octagon with alternate sides larger than the intermediate ones
bangala	a curved roof whose two sides meet at a single spine or ridge; the term derives from the shape of roofs on Bengali huts
baoli	a deep step well, found especially in western India
baradari	a pillared pavilion
baraka	divine power emanating from a saint's shrine
bulghur khana	a kitchen for the needy
chajja	overhanging eaves
chakravartin	an Indian term for a universal ruler
chandrashala	elaborate niche-like structure crowned with an ogee arch
char bagh	in Mughal India a garden divided into quadrants by running water courses
chattri	a domed kiosk supported on pillars
chau chala	a vault with four curved sides that meet at a curved central ridge or spine
Chehil Sutun	a 40-pillared hall; in the Mughal context a Public Audience Hall
chilla khana	a saint's house of meditation
chiraqdan	lamp stand
Chishti	the most popular sufi order in India; the major Chishti saint discussed here is Muʿin al-Din; others include Shaikh Salim Nizam al-Din and Bakhtiyar Kaki
chowk	a market; a public area
chowk-i jilo khana	a forecourt
chuna	lime plaster, usually highly burnished

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dado	the finishing of an interior wall from the floor to about waist height
Dai Anga	a wet-nurse; the focus here is on imperial wet-nurses who are women of considerable power and influence
dargah	a saint's shrine, often the center of pilgrimage
darshan	beholding; in the Mughal context, the viewing of the emperor at the *jharoka*; the practice derives from the Hindu notion of beholding a deity
darwaza	a gateway or entrance
Daulat Khana-i Khass	a Private Audience Hall
Daulat Khana-i Khass o ᶜAmm	a Public Audience Hall
dig	cauldron
Din-i Ilahi	disciple-like relationship between Akbar and his closest amirs
Diwan-i ᶜAmm	a popular name today for a Public Audience Hall
Diwan-i Khass	a popular name today for a Private Audience Hall
diwan-i kull	the Mughal finance minister
faqir	a holy man; an itinerant monk
farman	an imperial decree or order
faujdar	a law and order official; police
ghat	an embankment, usually stepped
ghazi	a warrior for Islam
Ghusl Khana	a private audience hall for the emperor's closest advisers
guldasta	a finial
gumbad	literally a dome, but often used for pre-Mughal tombs
hadis (also *hadith*)	sayings attributed to the Prophet Muhammad
hajj	the pilgrimage to Mecca mandatory for all able Muslims
hammam	a bath with hot, cold and warm chambers modeled on ancient Romen baths; today these are often called Turkish baths
hasht behisht	eight-paradises
Husainiya	another term for Imambara, although Husainiya are generally smaller than Imambara
ᶜId	Muslim festivals, one to break the fast of Ramadan and the other a sacrificial festival on the tenth day of the last month of the Muslim calendar
ᶜIdgah	a mosque where the ᶜId prayers are said; often this mosque consists only of a qibla wall

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Imambara	a large hall for the celebration of Muharram and for storing *taᶜziya*
Imtiyaz Mahal	a pavilion in Shah Jahan's Delhi palace known as the Hall of Distinction; today it is popularly called the Rang Mahal
jagir	an assignment of revenues in lieu of salary
jagirdar	the holder of a *jagir*
jali	pierced carved stone screen
Jamiᶜ mosque	a congregational mosque
Jat	an agricultural group found predominantly in north India and modern Pakistan
jharoka	a window or balcony from which an emperor displays himself to his subjects or nobles; a throne
jharoka-i daulat khana khass o ᶜamm	the ceremonial viewing balcony in the Public Audience Hall
jihad	holy war
jinn	a spirit who can be malevolent or benevolent
jiziya	tax on non-Muslims
kafir	a non-Muslim; an idolater or pagan
kar khana	workshop or center of production for goods required within a palace
kashi kari	tile mosaic
khanqah	a residential center for spiritual study
khutba	prayer legitimizing an Islamic ruler's sovereignty
khwabgah	a chamber in a palace for sleeping
khwaja	a title used by officials, religious scholars, and men of distinction
khwajasera	a eunuch
kos minar	conical towers that mark distances
kungura	battlements
madrasa	a school for religious instruction, a college
mahzar	a declaration; a decree
mansab	rank in the Mughal administrative system
mansabdar	rank holder
mansabdari	matters concerning rank
mehman khana	a guest chamber or house
mihrab	a prayer niche in a qibla wall
minbar	a pulpit from which the Friday sermon is delivered
muhtasib	an official who supervises public morals
murid	the follower or devotee of a *pir*, or spiritual guide
mutawali	an attendant or superintendent of a mosque, religious or charitable foundation

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Nahr-i Behisht	Canal of Paradise; the canal that runs through the Shahjahanabad palace
naqqar khana	chamber within a palace where the ceremonial drums are played to announce a ruler's presence
nawab	a title; vice-regents of the Mughals, for example, the Nawabs of Murshidabad and Awadh, although later these houses shed ties with the Mughals
oriel window	a projecting window, often balcony-like in appearance, on a facade
pedentive	a concave triangular surface that allows a square structure to support a dome
pietra dura	design rendered by the inlay of hard precious and semi-precious stones into marble
pir	a sufi teacher or spiritual guide
pishtaq	a high portal or entrance, usually centrally situated
pyramidal vault	a roof or covering over a rectangular space whose four sides, usually curved, meet at a central ridge or spine
Qadam Rasul	a shrine containing an impression of the Prophet Muhammad's footprint
Qadam Sharif	a shrine containing an impression of the Prophet Muhammad's footprint or that of ᶜAli, the Prophet's son-in-law, who is believed by Shias to be the Prophet Muhammad's rightful successor
qalᶜa	a fort or fortified enclosure
qalᶜadar	the superintendent of a fort
qibla	the wall of a mosque that faces Mecca
rana	common term in Rajasthan for a raja, a princely chieftain
ratna	a temple particular to Bengal which is surmounted by several spires
Sadarat	chief religious and legal office
sadr	chief theologian
serai	an inn, caravanserai
sher hajji	an outer defensive wall
simurgh	a mythical bird often associated with imperial and Solomonic imagery
spandrel	the triangular space between the curve of an arch and the space enclosing it
squinch	an arch or system of gradually projecting and wider arches placed diagonally at the internal angle of a

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	square structure thus allowing it to be surmounted by a dome
suba	a province
subadar	the governor of a province
sufi	a mystic
sulh-i kul	literally, Peace to All, Akbar's policy of universal toleration
Takht-i Daulat	throne room
taᶜziya	a portable model of the tomb of the Prophet's grandson, Husain, at Karbala
tirtha	a site of pilgrimage
torana	a gateway, serpentine-like lintels
trabeated	construction on a post and lintel principle
ᶜulema	the scholars and jurists of Islam who have authority over religious matters
ᶜUrs	the anniversary celebration at the tomb of a deceased saint, ruler or member of the royal family
watan jagir	landholding on ancestral domain
wazir	prime minister
yuga	an era in the traditional Indian conception of time
zamindar	a person who has the right to collect revenues from specific lands
zenana	women's quarters of a dwelling or palace

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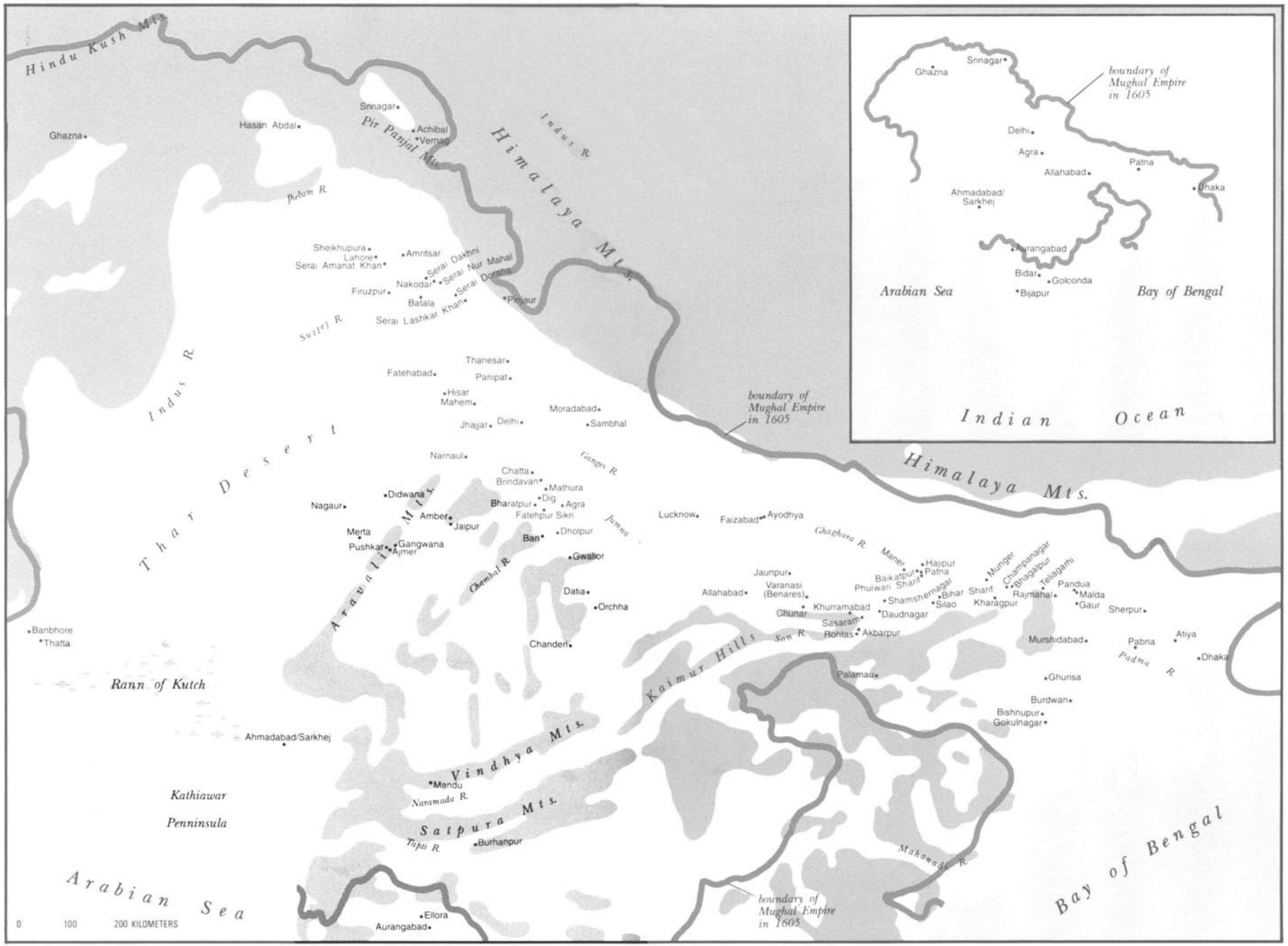

xxx Major pre-Mughal and Mughal sites xxxi

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CHAPTER 1

PRECEDENTS FOR MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE

In 1526 a descendant of the Iranian house of Timur, Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, better known today simply as Babur, defeated the last ruler of the Lodi dynasty in a battle at Panipat, about 90 km north of Delhi. The Lodis were one of many short-lived Islamic houses that had ruled over much of the Indian subcontinent since the Islamic conquest of this area in 1192. Babur and his successors, who continued to rule north India until 1858, were known as the Mughals, a term Babur would not have liked, for originally it had a pejorative connotation. In contemporary eyes Babur's victory over Ibrahim Lodi was no more consequential than the frequent campaigns that brought changes in ruling power. However, well before the year 1600, during the reign of Babur's grandson, Akbar, it was clear that Mughal rule made a substantial impact on the cultural, economic, and political development of the lands it controlled – an area then called Hindustan. In the realm of architecture, the Mughals achieved master-builder status, producing monuments such as the Taj Mahal, which even today is considered one of the world's most magnificent buildings.

Unlike the contemporary and powerful Islamic rulers of Iran and Turkey, the Safavids and Ottomans, the Mughals ruled a land dominated by non-Muslims, largely Hindus. Just as indigenous religions and traditions were tolerated and in many cases even respected by the Mughal rulers, so, too, they incorporated in their patronage of the arts, literature and music many indigenous elements. Over their 300-year rule, Mughal attitudes toward the indigenous Indian population – Hindu and Muslim – varied; so did Mughal adaptation of earlier Indian art forms. During the earliest days of Mughal patronage, little attention was paid to India's non-Islamic architectural traditions; however, during the reign of the third Mughal ruler, Akbar (1556–1605), indigenous Indian elements, both Hindu and Muslim, were incorporated consciously into Mughal structures. In subsequent Mughal architecture, patrons often abandoned the use of indigenous elements, seeking instead forms and symbols that might affirm the Islamic character of the Mughal house.

Mughal architecture is the product of innovative genius that borrowed from Indian, Timurid and even European sources. The Mughal artists interpreted these borrowed forms, both in terms of symbolism and style, to their own purposes. However, to imagine, as many do, that Mughal architecture was the first to make extensive use of indigenous motifs along with standard Islamic

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forms – for example, domes and arches – is to overlook the heritage bequeathed to them by earlier Indo-Islamic dynasties.

SOURCES OF MUGHAL INSPIRATION

Indian Muslim sources

The Delhi Sultanate, 1192–1451

Among the earliest remaining Islamic monuments in India are the foundations of walled city and mosque at Banbhore near Thatta in Sind, Pakistan. The site was commenced shortly after the birth of Islam, and is probably the earliest Arab settlement in the South Asian continent. Other remains indicating an early Islamic presence include a tomb dated to the mid-twelfth century found at Bhadreshvar in the coastal regions of Gujarat in western India. Another aspect of Islamic presence was the periodic incursions, more destructive than constructive, intended to take booty, not to build any record of a permanent presence. The incursions into India made by Mahmud of Ghazni in the eleventh century were of this sort. However, in 1192, Qutb al-Din Aibek, a military commander of the Afghan Ghorid dynasty, defeated the last Hindu ruler of Delhi. Within a few years, a great deal of north India was under Ghorid control, and in 1206 Aibek asserted his independence from the Ghorids, declaring himself sultan of India. He and his successors built architecture that served as one foundation of Mughal art.

Among the first concerns of the conqueror was the construction of a congregational (Jamiᶜ) mosque, necessary for the legitimization of the sultan in this newly acquired territory as well as for the establishment and spread of Islam. Aibek's first mosque, significantly now called the Quwwat al-Islam or Might of Islam, was erected in Delhi, the capital of the new Muslim rulers (Plate 1). Constructed from the architectural members of temples, the mosque in its first phases appears to be modeled loosely on a common form of Ghorid-period mosques. Such mosques, following a general Iranian fashion, had a central open courtyard surrounded by cloistered halls on three sides; the prayer chamber was on the fourth side.[1] Each side had a central vaulted entrance or *aiwan*. Hence, such mosques are known as four-*aiwan* types. In India their appearance is somewhat modified, and by the Mughal period the term *aiwan* assumes a different meaning. During this early period entrances are not vaulted. The prayer chamber is situated on the west, the side that in India faces Mecca, thus the direction toward which all Indian mosques are oriented. Variations of this Iranian four-*aiwan* plan continue to be constructed even through the Mughal

[1] Tokifusa Tsukinowa, "The Influence of Seljuq Architecture on the Earliest Mosques of the Delhi Sultanate Period in India," *Acta Asiatica*, 43, 1982, 54–60.

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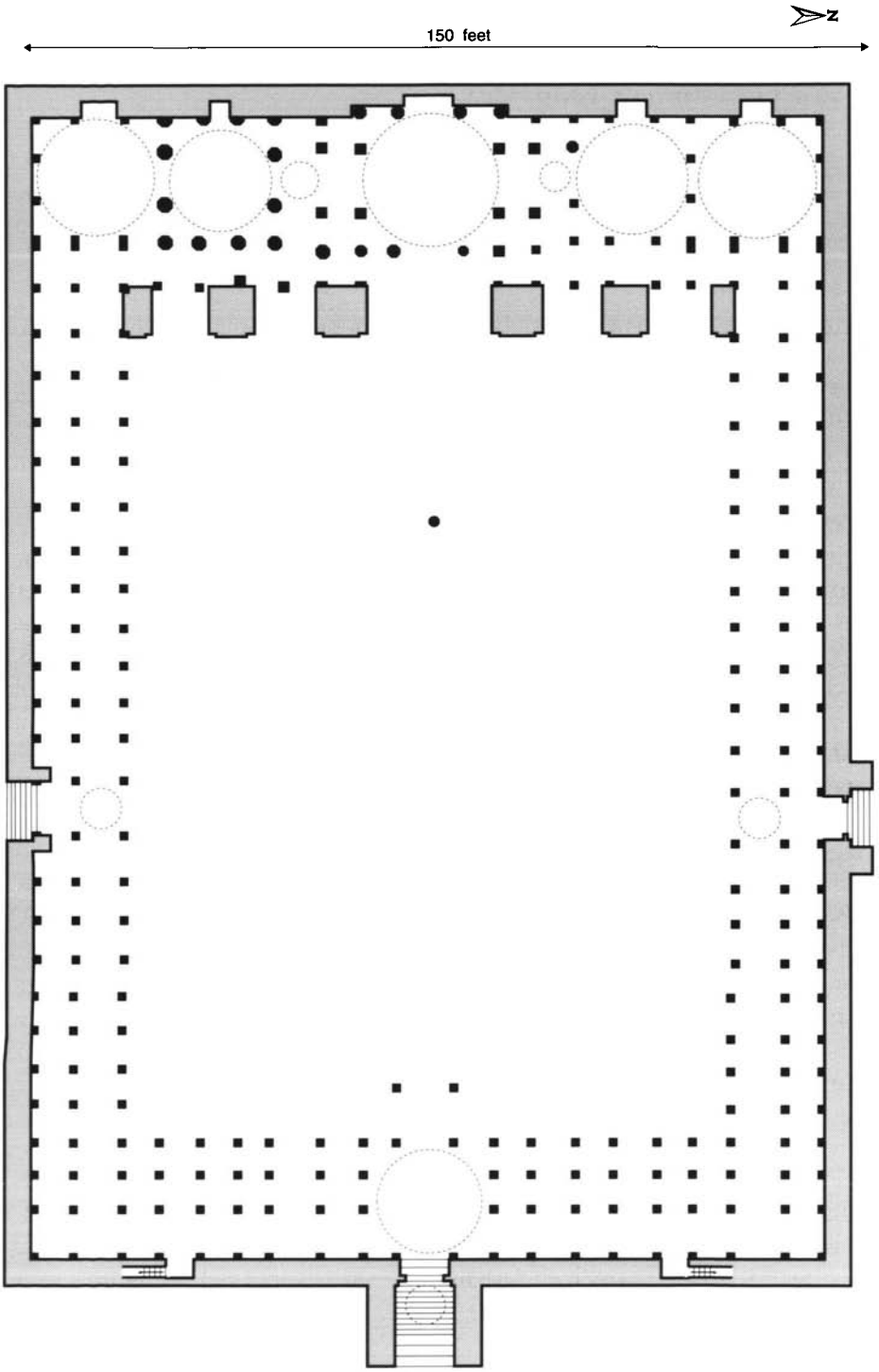

Plate 1. Aibek's Jamiᶜ mosque, known as the Quwwat al-Islam mosque, Delhi

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period. In elevation, however, the Quwwat al-Islam mosque initially followed traditional Indian building techniques. That is, the building in its initial phase was strictly trabeated, built in the post-and-lintel system. This contrasts to the more common arcuated or vaulted building types found throughout most Muslim-dominated lands. In Indo-Islamic architecture, however, trabeated buildings continued even through the Mughal period as one major mode of construction. As we shall see, to assume as most writers have done that all trabeated structures, especially in the case of Akbar's Fatehpur Sikri, are a revival or even conscious adaptation of Hindu forms is erroneous.

Aibek was evidently aware that his mosque, constructed entirely of elements pillaged from Hindu and Jain monuments, resembled more a rearranged temple than a traditional mosque. In 1198 he thus constructed an arched screen (Plate 2) across the front of the prayer chamber so his mosque might more closely mirror those in his homeland. This screen is richly adorned with vertical bands of carved calligraphy and naturalistically growing vines. While Arabic lettering, in this case verses from the Quran, typically embellishes the facade of prayer chambers throughout the Islamic world, the appearance of naturalistic, organic forms is a good deal more unusual. These naturalistic forms, in lieu of the more flattened, abstracted patterns generally found in the Ghorids' Iranian homelands, doubtless can be traced to Indian masons continuing to work in indigenous modes.

A rapidly growing Muslim population necessitated a larger mosque. Thus Aibek's structure was doubled in size by his son-in-law and successor, Iltutmish. Before the prayer chamber he also constructed an arched screen whose ornamentation differed from that of Aibek's. The motifs on Iltutmish's screen relate closely to those seen on Ghorid structures, for example the Shah-i Mashhad Madrasa in Ghargistan, north Afghanistan. They are more abstract than those on Aibek's screen and carved in a deep flat relief. The overall appearance is that of a rich tapestry, almost a *horror vacui* design. This tendency toward intense patterning over an entire stone-carved surface reappears in the early phases of Mughal architecture. Profuse surface decoration is characteristic of much Islamic ornamentation, not just that of India.

Under Iltutmish, the subcontinent's first monumental tombs were built. One, known today as the Sultan Ghari tomb, was constructed for his son, and a second was built for himself, both in Delhi. The interior of Iltutmish's own square-plan tomb was embellished in a fashion similar to his screen at the Quwwat al-Islam mosque. Some thirty chapters of the Quran are engraved on the tomb's interior walls. The themes of the chapters selected from these inscriptions include the oneness of God, the obligations of the devout, and the power of God – all themes of inscriptions on the Quwwat al-Islam mosque and its minaret, the Qutb Minar, both constructed under Aibek and Iltutmish. A new theme was introduced in the inscriptions of Iltutmish's tomb, one that

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Plate 2. Screen of Aibek's Jamiᶜ mosque, known as the Quwwat al-Islam Mosque, Delhi

became especially important for the Mughals, that is, eternal paradise as a reward for the true believer on the Day of Judgment.[2] Thus commences in India the tradition of paradisical imagery for tomb construction. Under the Mughals and culminating with the Taj Mahal, this theme came to be used with extraordinary effect, not only in inscriptions but in the entire conception of the monument.

No major Islamic structures remain in India that date between the death of Iltutmish in 1235 and the beginning of the fourteenth century. However, under the Khalji Sultan ᶜAla al-Din (ruled 1296–1316), architecture assumed renewed importance. Focusing on the monument that remained symbolically paramount, ᶜAla al-Din expanded the Quwwat al-Islam mosque to triple its original size. Although the project was never completed, its vast scale mirrors the ambitions of a prince who wished to become a second Alexander the Great. He sought to incorporate not only south India into his domain, but China as

[2] Anthony Welch, "Qur'an and Tomb: The Religious Epigraphs of Two Early Sultanate Tombs in Delhi," in Frederick M. Asher and G. S. Gai (eds.), *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art* (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 256–67.

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well. In fact, the only remaining parts of the Khalji addition to the Quwwat al-Islam mosque complex are an enormous unfinished minaret, pillared galleries and an entrance portal on the south, known commonly as the ᶜAlai Darwaza (Plate 3). Dated 1311, many epigraphs on this gate are not Quranic, but hyperbole praising its patron, Sultan ᶜAla al-Din Khalji. Although it is not a monumental structure, it is one that later builders, among them the early Mughals looked upon as a source of inspiration.

A square-plan gate, its layout adheres closely to that of Iltutmish's tomb. In ornamentation, however, major differences exist. The exterior of Iltutmish's tomb is austere, composed largely of plain dressed stones. In contrast, the ᶜAlai Darwaza's facade as well as interior is entirely faced with carved stones. This ornamentation appears to be based on both indigenous Indian traditions as well as non-Indian Islamic patterns. For example, the Arabic lettering, flat-cut stencil-like arabesques, battlement motifs (*kungura*) and geometric patterns derive from earlier Iranian traditions, while the carved lotus medallions and budded creepers are adaptations of earlier Indian motifs.

By the Khalji period, Indo-Islamic culture had come into its own. Underscoring this is the contemporary work of Amir Khusrau, still considered one of the greatest Indian poets. Writing in Persian, the official language of most Muslim courts and kings in India, Khusrau used motifs such as the parrot, mangoes and flowers only found in India to supplement Persianate imagery, such as cedars and tulips, alien to the subcontinent. By this time, many motifs – architectural and literary – had no strictly sectarian connotation. To call a motif Hindu or Muslim has little meaning, for elements such as the lotus or even trabeated architecture, still found in parts of ᶜAla al-Din's extension to the Quwwat al-Islam mosque, are now part of a well-established architectural tradition developed under the Indian sultans.

The ᶜAlai Darwaza is covered with carved stones and calligraphy that give the appearance of a richly textured surface. Long strips of white marble, used frequently for calligraphic bands, effectively stand out against the red sandstone ground of the facade. This concern for contrasting colors on a facade, also seen for example on the Khalji-period Ukha mosque in Bayana, probably ultimately is derived from the architectural traditions of the Turkish Seljuks. A memory of Seljuk design was brought to India by nobles, intellectuals and artisans fleeing the invading Mongols. Multi-colored facades of inlaid stone are seen rarely over the next 200 years; however, beginning in the early sixteenth century, facades inlaid with multi-colored stone are seen with greater frequency. There is reason to believe that the ᶜAlai Darwaza served as a direct source of inspiration for these structures, which in turn were the inspiration for the ornamentation on buildings such as the tomb of Ataga Khan (Plate 16), constructed early in Akbar's reign, or the Fatehpur Sikri Jamiᶜ mosque.

Following the Khaljis, the Tughluqs emerged as the ruling power. Assuming

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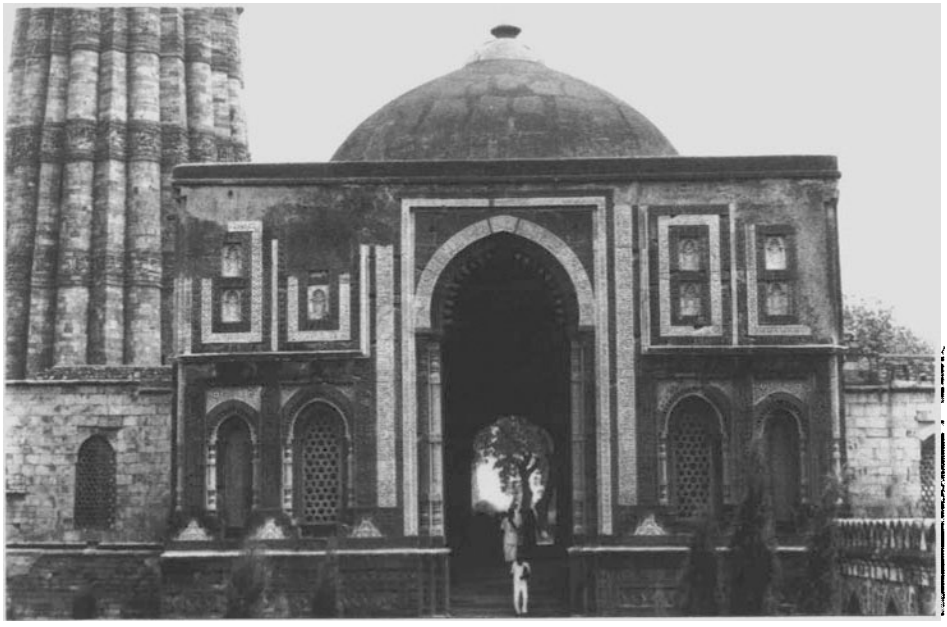

Plate 3. ʿAlai Darwaza, Quwwat al-Islam mosque, Delhi

control in 1320 over an area that included much of the Indian subcontinent, their territory quickly diminished as provincial governors declared independence from central authority, leaving them little more than Delhi and its suburbs. While the dynasty nominally survived until 1412, Delhi was sacked in 1399 by the invasion of Timur, the ancestor of the Mughals.

The Tughluqs were prolific providers of architecture, especially under the third ruler, Firuz Shah (r. 1351–88), whose extensive building campaigns were in a sense a cover for his politically weak regime. In general, architecture under the Tughluqs became increasingly austere into the fourteenth century. For example, richly carved stone facades and interiors were replaced with plain stucco veneers, and Quranic inscriptions rarely embellished any structure. While Tughluq buildings may have been painted, multi-colored stones on their surface were rare. With the exception of the four-*aiwan* mosque type, few of the architectural forms and little of the ornamentation developed in their reign appear to have had any direct bearing on Mughal buildings. Nevertheless, the work of the Tughluqs foreshadows aspects of Mughal architecture.

Firuz Shah Tughluq constructed extensive earthworks, mosques, schools for religious instruction (madrasa), as well as other edifices that were aimed at enhancing the religious and economic well-being of his subjects. While such projects fit well with the theoretical duty of a good Islamic ruler, in India no sultan hitherto had built public works so extensively. The Mughals

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subsequently did so, and like their Tughluq predecessors, they also provided support for the benefit of all subjects. For example, the Tughluq sultans and nobles endowed Hindu temples;[3] so, too, under the Mughal dynasty, was patronage provided for Hindu monuments. Even the Mughal Aurangzeb, traditionally considered an iconoclast and temple destroyer, gave orders for the protection of Hindus and their temples.[4] And some Hindu nobles under the Mughals provided funds for Islamic buildings.

The tomb of the first Tughluq ruler, Ghiyas al-Din, reflects a further development in paradisical imagery. While not unique to India, this imagery is developed most fully in funereal architecture during the Mughal period. Ghiyas al-Din's tomb is located slightly to the west of this sultan's massive Delhi fortress, Tughluqabad. Originally connected to it by a long arched bridge, the tomb is situated within pentagonal walls that mirror the nearby larger fort. Today the square-plan tomb sits in the midst of grain fields, but originally it was surrounded by a vast body of water, making the tomb, already protected by sloping enclosure walls, even more inaccessible.

It has been suggested that the tomb's fortress-like design reflects the political instability of the time and that it was constructed during Ghiyas al-Din's own life so that he could use it to protect himself against foes. However, such a structure could not provide long-term protection; rather, its setting in a pool of water evokes numerous references in the Quran to the abundant waters of paradise, an image so precious to the desert dwellers of Arabia, Islam's birthplace. This pool refers to the tank at which believers quench their thirst when entering paradise. The association of water with funereal structures to denote paradise will continue as a major motif in Mughal architecture.

While Iltutmish's tomb is a virtual storehouse of Quranic verse and Ghiyas al-Din Tughluq's tomb is a private vision of paradise, Firuz Shah Tughluq's tomb is austere, appropriate for its location in the midst of an Islamic theological college. Also in the grounds of this madrasa, in close proximity to Firuz Shah's tomb, are small kiosk-like structures known as *chattris*. They have domed superstructures supported by six or eight pillars. These *chattris* mark the graves of deceased saints or men of sufficient piety to be buried in the school's grounds. The nearby tomb of Firuz Shah overlooks a large tank, an appropriate location for a tomb. The tomb, characteristic of its period, is square in plan. The exterior walls have a thick unembellished stucco veneer. The interior is also stucco faced, generally plain, although the interior of the dome is incised and polychromed to evoke an image of the heavens. In addition to medallions and floral designs, the dome is inscribed with verses from the

[3] Agha Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty* (New Delhi, 1976), pp. 311–39.
[4] Rajani Rajan Sen, "A Firman of Emperor Aurangzeb," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VII, 1911, 690.

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Quran and sayings attributed to the Prophet Muhammad (*hadis*). The hope of paradise is a principal theme of these verses, a theme that will dominate the iconography of Mughal tombs.

The successor states of the Tughluqs

As central Tughluq authority over regional territories weakened, Tughluq governors asserted their independence, creating a series of successor states. In the case of Deccani and Bengali governors, ties were severed with the Tughluq masters as early as the mid-fourteenth century. Gradually through the early fifteenth century other governors declared independence. Most of these regions remained autonomous until the very beginning of the Mughal period. Artistic trends to a large extent reflect political ones. That is, structures constructed in these areas during Tughluq domination or shortly thereafter are modeled closely on the Tughluq architecture of Delhi. For example, the first congregational mosque of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty (1352–1415; 1433–86) in Bengal, the Adina mosque of Pandua built in 1374, is inspired in both plan and overall appearance by Muhammad Shah Tughluq's congregational mosque in Delhi, commonly known as the Begumpuri mosque (c. 1343). So is the early-fourteenth century Atala mosque in Jaunpur, the first congregational mosque of the Sharqi dynasty. However, buildings constructed after the initial phase of independence generally use plans and motifs indigenous to their area. This, as we shall see, is a pattern also reflected in some of the late Mughal architecture of the provinces.

The most dramatic examples of distinctly regional style are found in the architectural traditions of Bengal and Gujarat. In Bengal, the form of the village hut with its sloping roof, well suited for heavy rains, was adapted for tombs and mosques, for example the mosque of Baba Adam (1483) in Rampal, today located in Dhaka District, Bangladesh, and the Eklakhi tomb in Pandua, West Bengal, datable to the fifteenth century. Probably the curved roof was used in palace architecture as well, but we have no surviving examples. Similar roofs are common in Mughal architecture commencing around the mid-seventeenth century. Such roofs were called *bangala* in Mughal documents and were often used by the end of the seventeenth century far from Bengal in Mughal architecture.

Few other connections link architecture produced under the independent sultans of Bengal with monuments subsequently erected under the Mughals. For example, the delicate brick work seen in the Tantipora mosque in Gaur or the exquisite stone carving on the Adina mosque in Pandua had little influence on subsequent Mughal monuments. While a few motifs – among them the bell and chain – are common to the architecture of both Sultanate Bengal and the Mughals, these motifs are seen also in the Sultanate architecture of other realms, notably Gujarat. Thus the claim of Akbar's chronicler, Abu al-Fazl, that the

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"fine styles of Bengal" were crucial in the development of Akbari architecture is little substantiated by the remains themselves.

In Gujarat, as in Bengal, architecture under the newly established Ahmad Shahi dynasty (1408–1578) assumed a distinctly regional character. Features found commonly on tombs, mosques and saints' shrines (*dargahs*) include ones such as serpentine-like gateways (*toranas*) or lintels above prayer niches (mihrabs), bell-and-chain motifs carved on pillars and walls, pillars supporting corbelled domes and ceiling insets, and carved panels often depicting trees, all ultimately derived from Gujarati temple traditions. Because of these borrowings, some scholars have assumed a conscious and continued Hindu influence. More likely, however, these features were first used by local Hindu artisans contracted to work on the Islamic architecture of the area, and their form, but not their original meaning, became assimilated into the standard architectural repertoire. Thus when many of these same ideas appear in the architecture of Akbar, there is no reason to associate them with any particular sectarian tradition.

Such features are not limited to Gujarat. They are also features of architecture in Mandu, related politically and geographically to Gujarat, and in Chanderi. For example, serpentine brackets, seen on the mid-fifteenth-century mosque at Sarkhej, Gujarat, also appear on the Jamiᶜ mosque in Chanderi and on the tomb of Hoshang Shah in Mandu. Similarly, inlaid white marble was a dominant building material in both Gujarat and Mandu. The concurrent use of such features throughout western and part of north-central India has significance for Mughal architecture, where these features are common. It is generally assumed that artisans for Akbar's palaces came from Gujarat, but the widespread use of such motifs opens the possibility that they came from a greater area.

More important than the borrowing of individual motifs from Gujarat is the overall influence of the fifteenth-century *dargah* of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu of Sarkhej on the design of Mughal tombs. This tomb, situated outside of Ahmadabad, is a white marble shrine whose facade is embellished with pierced carved screens (*jalis*). Both the material and screens became major features of Mughal architecture. In addition, the tomb's plan as well as the juxtaposed colored stones used on the flooring had a major impact on Mughal mausolea.

The early structures erected by the independent rulers in the Deccan, as in the north, adhered closely to Tughluq models. However, unlike the monuments of Gujarat and Bengal, Deccani architecture was subject to the influence of Iranian Seljuk and Timurid forms in the course of developing its own regional styles. Although this Seljuk influence has no bearing on Mughal art, the Timurid influence is of concern here, for the Deccan felt the impact of Iranian Timurid tradition before north India. For example, intersecting

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pendentives, a Timurid device, appear in Bidar on the tomb of Sultan Kalim Allah (d. 1527), shortly before they are used in north India. It is thus possible that the Mughals, descended from Timurid ancestors, did not directly import the tradition of their heritage when they came to India but adopted Timurid forms from the Deccan. There is, however, no real evidence for the movement of artistic styles from south to north.

Immediate Mughal precedents: the Lodi and Sur traditions

After some hundred years, during which Delhi enjoyed little prestige, the Afghan-descended Lodi dynasty (1451–1526) made vigorous efforts to revive the city's status. They vanquished their enemies, the Sharqis of Jaunpur, and soon afterward commenced extensive building in Delhi itself. Certain motifs on Lodi buildings are identical to those seen earlier only at Jaunpur. This is the case, for example, with engaged colonettes embellished with an interwoven pattern on the Bara Gumbad, almost certainly built as a ceremonial entrance to the Bagh-i Jud, known today as Lodi Gardens, the burial grounds for the Lodi rulers. This suggests that artists were taken to Delhi from Jaunpur, until then considered the cultural center of Islamic India, in an attempt to revive the prestige of the traditional capital. The revival of Delhi was accelerated under the reigns of the first two Mughals, Babur and Humayun, who succeeded the Lodis. Their architecture is the subject of the next chapter. Following their reign, however, Mughal authority in India was briefly interrupted when the Delhi throne was assumed in 1540 by the Afghan ruler, Sher Shah Sur and his successors (1538–55). Although fifteen years of Mughal rule separated the periods of Lodi and Sur authority, the architecture produced under these two Afghan dynasties can be discussed simultaneously since it is close in form and spirit.

Under the Lodis a new type of mosque developed, one that ultimately became a major type in Mughal India. In lieu of the large congregational mosque favored under earlier Sultanate dynasties, small single-aisled mosques composed usually of three or five bays were constructed. Although it is not fully understood how or why this type was developed, a Jamiᶜ mosque constructed by Sultan Sikandar Lodi and dated 1494, commonly known as the Bara Gumbad mosque in Delhi's Lodi Gardens (Plate 4), appears to be the first example. Subsequent examples include the Moth-ki Masjid, built in Delhi about 1510 by Sikandar Lodi's prime minister, and the Jamali mosque, probably built shortly after the Mughal conquest of India but in this Lodi style. The Jamali mosque was built adjacent to the house of Jamali (d. 1536), a poet and saint favored by the Lodis as well as by the first Mughals, Humayun and Babur. It represents a mature example of the small single-aisled type. The facades of these mosques show one or more of the following features not seen on mosques in Delhi since the Khalji era, yet important for the subsequent development of

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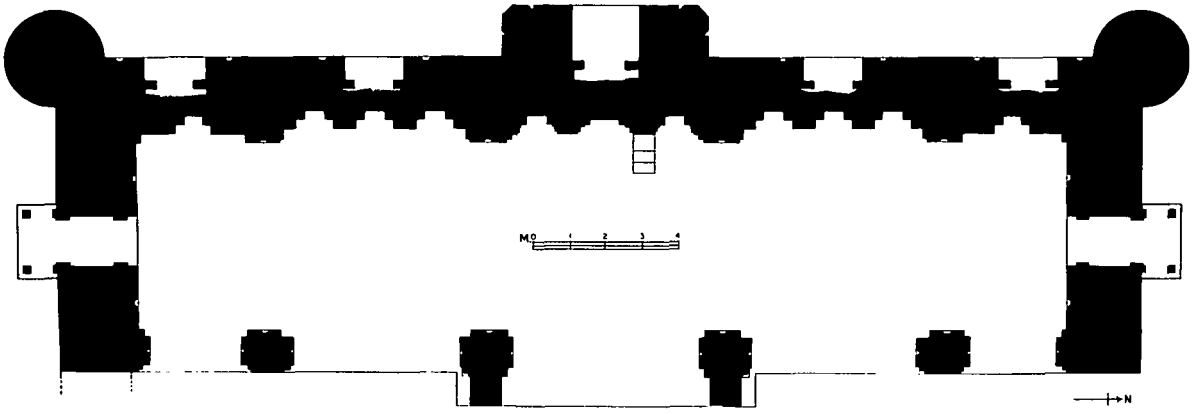

Plate 4. Jamiᶜ mosque, Lodi Gardens, Delhi

much Mughal mosque architecture: inlaid colored stones (Jamali mosque), calligraphy (Sikandar Lodi's Jamiᶜ mosque), and a high central portal (*pishtaq*) on all these mosques, suggesting a renewed interest in the monumental appearance of the facade.

Within the walls of Sher Shah Sur's citadel, known today as the Purana Qalᶜa in Delhi, is a magnificent single-aisled mosque that was probably the Jamiᶜ mosque of this Sur sultan (Plate 5). The citadel was commenced by the second Mughal, Humayun, but was probably finished by Sher Shah (r. 1538–45), an Afghan usurper, after he expelled the Mughals from Hindustan in 1540. Although this mosque, today known as the Qalᶜa-i Kuhna mosque, is attributed by some to Humayun, it follows forms and utilizes motifs seen on at least one other building of Sher Shah, the tomb he erected for his grandfather at Narnaul. Moreover, it shares little in common with any extant building of Humayun. Its use of calligraphy and contrasting colored stones on the richly textured exterior evokes the appearance of ᶜAla al-Din Khalji's ᶜAlai Darwaza. Significantly, Sher Shah's government revived many of the administrative features of ᶜAla al-Din's own government. Sher Shah associated these features with the revival of the Delhi Sultanate's prestige. Abu al-Fazl, Akbar's official chronicler, guardedly applauded these revived administrative features in spite of Mughal contempt for this Afghan upstart. Not only is the overall appearance of this mosque's facade important for the future development of Mughal architecture, but also many details found there influence subsequent building. On the mosque, many features are presented in an only slightly less sophisticated manner than in Akbar's own architecture. They are here more developed than on any prototype, thus in a sense serving as a bridge to subsequent Mughal ornamentation.

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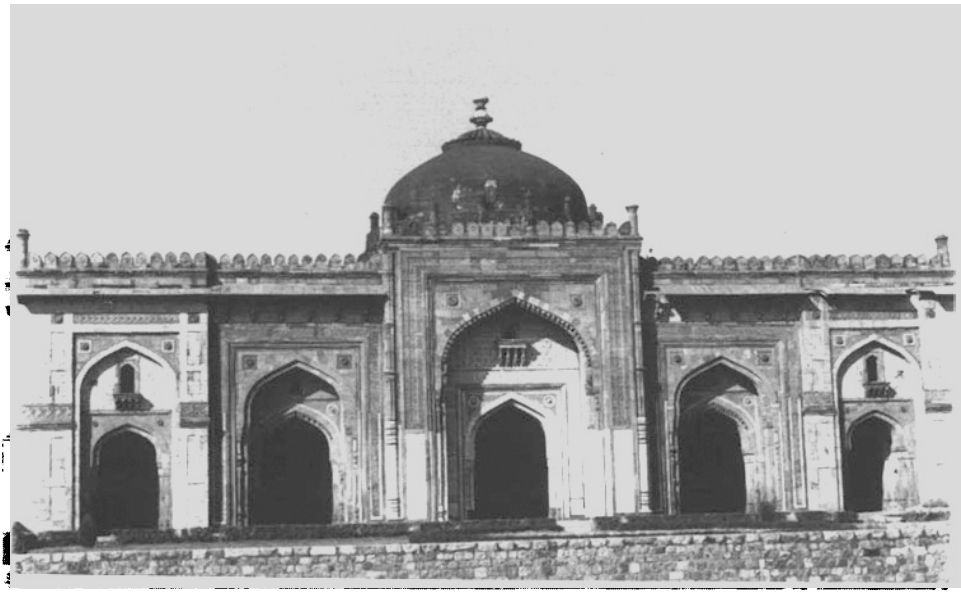

Plate 5. Qal^{c}a-i Kuhna mosque, Delhi

The single-aisled plan is used exclusively for Lodi- and Sur-period Jami^{c} mosques and for many lesser mosques in those periods as well. Still, simple multi-aisled multi-bayed mosques, often trabeated and flat-roofed, continued to be constructed across India. Examples include the Sangi mosque in Phulwari Sharif, Bihar, dated 1549–50, and the Chowk-ki Masjid, dated 1553, in Nagaur, Rajasthan. Trabeated, flat-roofed structures continue a long-standing Indian tradition. They in no way represent a style that can be classified as non-Islamic.

Before the Lodis, elaborate tombs were built only for kings, members of the royal family and highly venerated saints. Although there were only three Lodi kings, more than a hundred large tombs constructed under Lodi auspices remain in Delhi alone, many times the number of tombs built under earlier regimes. Since surely there were not a hundred saints worthy of elaborate tombs during this brief period, the explanation appears to lie in the attitude toward kingship under the Lodis.[5] The sultan under earlier Indo-Islamic dynasties had been regarded as autocratic, a ruler whose power was absolute. The Lodis, however, were a tribe from Afghanistan. Although they were long settled in India, members of other Afghan tribes formed their support. These

[5] Matsuo Ara, "The Lodhi Rulers and the Construction of Tomb-Buildings in Delhi," *Acta Asiatica*, 43, 1982, 71–80.

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tribal chiefs viewed a king not as an absolute but rather as a comrade who was first among equals. In this same manner, these nobles felt that they, too, should merit tombs, formerly a royal perquisite. Often the tombs of these nobles are even larger than royal ones. Generally the royal tombs were octagonal, while those of the nobles were square in plan. A typical square-plan tomb is that of Mubarak Khan in Delhi's South Extension, dated to 1481–82. Its facade is marked with multiple tiers of arched niches and windows divided by rows of string coursing, giving this single-storied structure the appearance of several stories. Mubarak Khan's tomb is surmounted by a single dome, and *chattris* mark each corner of the roof. Square-plan tombs adhering to this general plan were constructed by the Mughals as well, even into the eighteenth century.

For Sher Shah Sur the association of tomb construction with status assumed even greater importance. The only Indian sultan descending from a low-ranking heritage, Sher Shah wished to fabricate an elevated genealogy to indicate that he had the requisite piety and high birth demanded of Islamic sovereigns. Shortly after he assumed the Delhi throne in 1540, this sultan constructed for his grandfather and father, each long-deceased and low-ranking, enormous magnificent tombs that posthumously implied elevated status. His grandfather's tomb in Narnaul is of special interest, for not only is it a square-plan tomb of the type that had been reserved for high-ranking Lodi nobles, but also it is larger and more carefully crafted than Lodi prototypes. This enormous tomb is exquisitely rendered with contrasting grey and red stones on the facade. It serves as an immediate model for the finest Mughal-period square-plan tombs. In Sasaram Sher Shah built for his father a huge three-tiered octagonal mausoleum, a type generally reserved for royalty, yet much larger than any Lodi prototype. Situated in the middle of a walled compound with structures usually found in a saint's shrine – a mosque, a madrasa, a serai, a hall for religious meditation and step-well – this tomb bestowed upon Sher Shah's low-ranking father the trappings of both a saint and a king.

The monumental octagonal mausoleum, completed in 1545, that Sher Shah constructed for himself, also in Sasaram, was at that time the largest tomb ever built in all India. Its setting, in the middle of an artificial lake, is a visual allusion to the abundant waters of paradise described in the Quran. Specifically this tank refers to the pool at which believers quench their thirst when entering paradise, a reference made lucid by the presence of these particular Quranic verses (108: 1–3) carved on the tomb's interior. The tomb's octagonal shape is again an allusion to the eight levels that comprise the Islamic notion of paradise. The eight-sided ambulatory around the tomb permits circumambulating the deceased, an act of veneration in itself. The symbolism apparent in this tomb anticipates that of Mughal tombs. Thus the roots of Mughal mausolea do not lie exclusively outside of India.

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Non-Islamic sources: 1300–1500

Although the Sultanate period is generally believed to be one of little tolerance for non-Muslims, Hindu and Jain architecture continued to be built in north India during this time. For example, at least three temples in Bihar are either dated or datable to the Sultanate period. One of them, in the Hindu pilgrimage city of Gaya, even bears an inscription praising the Muslim overlord, Firuz Shah Tughluq, a ruler traditionally considered belligerently anti-Hindu.[6] Some temples of this period are domed, as indicated by paintings illustrating a 1516 *Aryanyakaparvan*.[7] Thus domed architecture cannot be considered exclusive to the Muslims.

Secular architecture erected at this time under Hindu patrons had a substantial impact on subsequent secular buildings, notably those of the Mughals. One example, a magnificent one, is the Man Mandir palace built in Gwalior about 1500 by Raja Man Singh Tomar. Among the few buildings admired by Babur in India, the palace is rightly regarded as having influenced Akbar in the design of his own palaces. Situated atop the high flat plateau of the ancient Gwalior fort, the palace's exterior is marked with a series of circular buttresses each surmounted by a high domed *chattri*, and the facade is embellished with tiles glazed predominantly blue or yellow. While the Gwalior palace's exterior influenced the inlaid mosaic facade of the Delhi gate in Akbar's Agra fort, the interior of this palace had an even greater impact on Akbar's architecture. The main body of the palace consists of a series of small connecting courtyards around whose perimeter are galleries containing rooms. These rooms are never arcuated, but have essentially flat roofs, a type that reappears in Akbar's Agra and Fatehpur Sikri palaces. Like subsequent Mughal palaces, the Gwalior palace makes use of animal brackets supporting the gallery eaves (*chajjas*), probably ultimately modeled on *torana* motifs, that are used both as wall ornamentation as well as functional devices. While Man Singh's palace, not far from Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, had an apparent impact on Akbari architecture, it is wrong to consider the Gwalior palace uniquely Hindu in form. Rather, it belongs to a type of domestic architecture that late in the Sultanate period was utilized by both Hindus and non-Hindus.

The Iranian tradition

In spite of a long-standing Islamic heritage in India, Mughal rulers considered themselves the rightful heirs of the Iranian Timurid tradition, which they felt

[6] Alexander Cunningham (ed.), *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, 23 vols. (Calcutta, 1871–87), III: 128–29. Hereafter this work is cited as *ASIR*.

[7] Moti Chandra and Karl Khandalavala, *An Illustrated Aranyaka Parvan in the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Bombay, 1974), figs. 7, 23–24.

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was superior to Indo-Islamic culture. Important among Timurid artistic traditions adopted by the Mughals are those that had been maintained and further refined by a Timurid successor state, the Shaibanis of Bukhara. Their rule was contemporary with the beginnings of a Mughal domination of India. Thus, despite the fact that Safavid rule and artistic expression dominated most of the Iranian world, the Shaibanis provided a conduit for the transmission of Timurid architectural forms.[8]

Mughal architecture adopted from Timurid antecedents possesses a sense of grandeur and an extremely sophisticated realization of geometrical proportion. Timurid architects had developed an understanding of how interconnecting and stacked transverse arches could be used in lieu of solid walls to create new spatial organizations. This resulted in structures with a large central room surrounded by smaller chambers and arched entranceways of various sizes. Such a plan is seen in the Timurid ʿIshrat Khana, a dynastic mausoleum in Samarqand; it was built for women of the Timurid house and finished around 1464. Frequently imperial Mughal tombs were designed on a similar plan, specifically one consisting of nine bays. That is, a central chamber is surrounded by eight smaller rooms whose placement, size and shape depended on a geometric division of the whole. The Ak-serai tomb in Samarqand was of this type, as were some garden pavilions known from written descriptions. Other Timurid examples of this type include the *khanqah* of Qasim Shaikh in Kirmān dated 1558–59 and the tomb of Uleg Beg Miranshah in Ghazni (d. 1506). Since the architect of Humayun's tomb, the first Timurid-inspired tomb in Mughal India, came from Bukhara, where he had designed a variety of building types, the Timurid inspiration for this and later Mughal tombs is not surprising. In mature phases of Timurid architecture, the surrounding chambers became symbolic of the eight levels of paradise, a concept adopted for Mughal mausolea as well.

The complex geometrical formulae used for Timurid building plans and the arcuated systems of the walls allowed a proportionately large floor space to be covered by a narrower superstructure. New vaulting systems consisting of arch-nets in the squinches were created to cover angles formed by intersecting arches. Stellate forms, frequently based on the structure's geometrical proportions, adorned interior domes and vaults. These are found first in Timurid and then in Mughal architectural vaulting.

Following a long-standing Iranian tradition, the garden, symbolic of paradise, was developed by the Timurids and subsequently by the Mughals. Informally planted walled gardens with running streams, pools and often

[8] Lisa Golombek, "From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal," in Abbas Daneshvari (ed.), *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn* (Malibu, 1981), 43–50, is the principal source of information in this section.

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pavilions were an inherent part of the large Timurid cities. Babur, the first Mughal emperor, lists in his memoirs numerous gardens that delighted him in Timurid Herat, a city whose splendid palaces and gardens went a long way in influencing Babur's own building schemes in India. These gardens were called *char bagh* (literally: four gardens), although their actual layout is open to dispute since none remains today. While some believe that this type of garden was divided into four sections as at the Mughal tombs, others believe that the term derives from the practice of planting in sets of four beds and that quartering a garden by waterways was a Mughal innovation.

The type of Jami^{c} or large congregational mosque developed under the imperial Mughals derives from large Timurid mosques. These are four-*aiwan* structures in whose center is an open courtyard. The prayer chamber of these mosques is entered through a large vaulted portal. The side wings are pillared corridors. This type of Timurid mosque, for example the Bibi Khanum in Samarqand (1398–1405), or the Kalan mosque (fifteenth–sixteenth century) in Bukhara, adheres closely to earlier Seljuk models that had been the prototype as well for the mosque (Plates 1 and 2) erected by the Ghorid rulers who had conquered Delhi in the late twelfth century. This would explain why early Mughal mosques ideally modeled on Timurid types often appear to resemble in plan many earlier Sultanate mosques of India.

MUGHAL TASTE ANTICIPATED

The heritage bequeathed to the new Mughal rulers and their subjects was a rich and varied one. It included Iranian, indigenous Indian and eventually even European forms and symbolism. Attitudes toward this heritage during the subsequent 300 years, on both an imperial and a sub-imperial level, will formulate a Mughal aesthetic and create a unique cultural expression.

Mughal architectural taste and idiom evolves from the center outwards. It is triggered by imperial predilection, rarely arbitrary but embedded in political and cultural ideology. The ruler is not often solely responsible for construction outside central urban areas; rather, it is the nobility, usually high-ranking, wealthy and sophisticated, that are responsible for building there. They built, often prolifically, on their landholdings that were granted in lieu of salary, even though these lands were shifted about every two years to prevent the establishment of threatening power bases. Such construction, almost always rooted in a current Mughal idiom but often reflecting local taste as well, was essentially a way to curry favor with the emperor and to buy power and success. In return, the mosques, temples, palaces, gardens and other works erected served as symbols of Mughal presence and authority. Even during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the capital, Delhi, increasingly became both the heart and perimeter of the Mughal empire, imperial Mughal architectural

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aesthetic and taste served as the model for construction in developing splinter states. Mughal style eventually came to represent not Mughal authority, but the cultural and social values established under the Mughals. These values were cherished by Muslim subjects living increasingly under western colonial rule. How, why and where this transpired is the story of the next five chapters.

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CHAPTER 2

THE BEGINNINGS OF MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE

BABUR

Babur before his conquest of India

Born in what is today the southern Soviet province of Uzbekistan, the Timurid Babur inherited the throne of a small principality known as Ferghana in 1494. He was then eleven years old. By the time he was twenty-one, he twice had held neighboring Samarqand, albeit briefly. For two years after his second loss of Samarqand, Babur, homeless and supported only by a tiny band of loyal followers, sought a principality. In 1504 his luck improved, and he captured Kabul and surrounding territories. In 1511, Babur tried for a third time to extend his rule to Samarqand, this time with support from the Safavid king Shah Ismaʿil. The Safavid extended his support only because Babur, a Sunni, had agreed to adopt trappings of the Shia creed, a heretical notion to the orthodox Sunni Muslims of Samarqand. Babur was able to enter the city and establish himself as its ruler. But within less than a year, the Sunni subjects of Samarqand withdrew support from Babur. After unsuccessful attempts to gain Bukhara, Babur returned to Kabul in 1512, once again holding only this province, nothing more.

While Babur's tenure in Samarqand had been short, the city's impact upon him was profound, shaping his attitude toward architecture and, even more significantly, toward landscape. Samarqand, embellished by Timur and his immediate successors with splendid *char bagh* gardens, mosques, madrasas and tombs, was one of the wonders of the fifteenth century. Babur was also deeply impressed by Herat, the seat of most cultured Timurid princes, which he had visited in 1507. Its many gardens and magnificent buildings are recorded in tourist-like fashion in his memoirs. These memoirs are not only intimate observations of his own exploits and travels, but also carefully observed descriptions of nature, be it human or the flora and fauna which abounded in his native Central Asia as well as in India. It thus comes as no surprise that among Babur's first enterprises in the province of Kabul was the layout of terraced, planted gardens with running streams. These doubtless were inspired by the gardens of Samarqand and Herat and reflected Babur's deep love of nature.

A true Timurid in spirit, Babur preferred to camp in gardens than reside in

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any permanently constructed palace. Throughout his small principality, he either refurbished already existing gardens or created new ones. However, the creation of such gardens was not simply an indulgence in a personal pleasure or a whimsical pastime. They were used as camp sites, situated at a day's or half-day's horse ride from one another in the manner that other rulers built serais. The fruit of the gardens was consumed by Babur and his men, for frequently he refers to bananas, oranges or pomegranates eaten by his followers or given as special gifts. But such gardens probably had a greater significance. That is, the manipulation of natural untamed landscape into a rational, ordered creation was for Babur a metaphor for his ability to govern. Underscoring this is the allusion by Babur's faithful noble, Zain Khan, to "the garden of his [Babur's] powerful state," using other garden and floral imagery to proclaim Babur's regal character.[1]

The locations of many of these gardens, such as the ones at Nimla or Istalif, are known from Babur's writings as well as those of Zain Khan. They indicate the types of trees, flowers and fruit that grew in these terraced settings. Natural springs were formalized with stone edgings, streams were diverted through man-made watercourses and pavilions were constructed for the joy of the beholder. Of all Babur's gardens in Kabul province, the Bagh-i Wafa, or Garden of Fidelity, must have been his favorite, for he writes about it most frequently. Located near Jalalabad in modern Afghanistan, this garden lay close to the Khyber Pass, the only break in the mountain barrier between Kabul and Hindustan. Babur halted at the Bagh-i Wafa at various times over the next fifteen years. It was divided into four parts by running streams and planted with oranges, limes, pomegranates, bananas, sugar cane, jasmine, tulips and hyacinths, among other plants. Today none of these Afghan gardens exists in its original state, and even the location of many of them remains in doubt.

Babur's conquest of India

Babur had long contemplated a conquest of India. As early as 1505 he made an initial foray as far as the Indus River, but until 1514 he largely aspired to retake his Central Asian territories. With this dream effectively quashed, Babur's thoughts turned again toward India. He then engaged a Turkish artillery-man and fortified his army with guns, weapons his Indian opponents lacked. He secured Qandahar, necessary in order to protect Kabul during long absences, and invaded India five times. Using innovative military tactics learned from Ustad ᶜAli, his current head artillery-man, Babur's army defeated Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's more numerous foot and cavalry forces. Babur killed the Indian

[1] Zain Khan Khwafi, *Tabaqat-i Baburi*, tr. S. Hasan Askari (Delhi, 1982), p. 7. Hereafter cited as Zain Khan.

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sultan himself at the battle of Panipat in April, 1526. Declaring himself emperor of Hindustan, Babur established Agra as his capital. His first and most serious opponent was a Rajput Hindu, Rana Sangam of Mewar, leader of a largely Hindu–Rajput confederacy. A renowned warrior, Rana Sangam had also aspired to replace the Lodi sultans. His troops were defeated by Babur in March 1527 in close proximity to Fatehpur Sikri, a victory commemorated by the construction of large stepped wells. For the next several years until his premature death in 1530, Babur's career was devoted to conquering northern and eastern India. When he died, Babur bequeathed to his oldest son, Humayun, a shaky and as yet unconsolidated empire that extended from Afghanistan into Bihar.

Babur's Indian gardens

Even before the battle of Panipat, Babur considered the Punjab, that is, the north-western territory between Delhi and Kabul, rightfully his since earlier it had been conquered by his ancestor, Timur. There, on a bitter cold, rainy day in February 1526, two months before his victory over the Lodis, Babur discovered a site near the Ghaggar river that he deemed ideal for a *char bagh*.[2] The garden, which he designed himself, was finished in 1528–29. Although it no longer survives, literary reports indicate that Babur's first Indian garden was built around a natural spring and that the garden itself was situated in a narrow mountain valley, a terrain close to that of Babur's own Kabul.

However, after his victory at Panipat in the hot summer month of April 1526, the morale of Babur's troops declined markedly. While Babur himself detested the heat, dust, flies and violent winds of the Indian summers, he was determined to stay, rallying the support of his followers. He responded to the climate by building gardens and baths. Gardens, ordered and regular, could shape the terrain to Babur's own liking and expectations. Running water required for all Mughal gardens was supplied by constructing Persian water wheels, in conjunction with deep stepped wells called *baolis*. Baths piped with hot and cold water were built in these gardens, for, as Babur states, inside such baths the heat and flying dust are shut out.[3] In Agra no suitable land for a garden existed, but Babur nevertheless laid out a *char bagh* that he named Hasht Behisht, the four-quartered Garden of Eight Paradises. It was situated on the east bank of the Jumna river. Although not stated explicitly, Babur's memoirs suggest that it served as his main residence and court, for it included baths, a large tank, an audience hall and private dwellings.

[2] Zain Khan, pp. 66–68, and Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur Badshah, *Babur Nama*, tr. A. S. Beveridge (reprint ed., New Delhi, 1970), pp. 464–65. Hereafter cited as Babur.
[3] Babur, pp. 531–32, and Zain Khan, p. 161.

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A second garden was constructed just inside the city's old fort.[4] By the end of 1526 this garden, its well, several stone structures and a mosque were completed. Babur disliked the mosque, for it was designed "in the Hindustani fashion," but the well pleased him, and he dedicated its completion to his victory over the Rana Sangam.[5] Some have associated this well with an extant *baoli* in the Agra fort, but that is probably a later project.

A second *baoli*, an octagonal one, is located at the base of the Fatehpur Sikri rock scarp about a kilometer from the Hiran Minar (Plate 27) constructed by Akbar later in the century. This was probably the original site of a well-known epigraph commemorating Babur's Fatehpur Sikri victory. A deep flight of stairs leads to the octagonal well; pillared and arched passageways mark each level of its shaft. These red sandstone corridors, which remain cool during the hot season, are embellished with rosettes, simply carved brackets and *chandrashalas* (elaborate niche-like forms) on pillar bases typically found during this period. While some writers confuse this *baoli* with the one Babur's memoirs describe in the Agra fort garden,[6] he probably constructed a *baoli* in each place, recording only one in his memoirs.

Agra, Babur's capital, figures large in his memoirs, but he much loved Fatehpur Sikri, which he named Shukri, or Thanks, for its large lake with water much needed by Mughal troops. Following his defeat of the rana on the outskirts of Fatehpur Sikri, Babur constructed a garden there called the Garden of Victory.[7] In it he built an octagonal pavilion which he used for relaxation and writing. In the center of a nearby lake he built a large platform.[8]

Only two of Babur's Indian gardens can be identified with any certainty. One is in Agra, today called the Ram Bagh. Although its original name is open to some dispute, it was probably the Gul Afshan garden, which served as Babur's burial site until his body was transferred to a garden in Kabul in accordance with his final wishes. A water-course with pools symmetrically dividing the terraced garden is still evident, although it belongs to Jahangir's reign (1605–27), when the garden underwent extensive renovations.

The second of Babur's gardens that can be identified is at Dholpur, today in Bharatpur District, Rajasthan. It is his Bagh-i Nilufar, or Lotus garden, described in his memoirs. Located atop the red sandstone ridge that looms high above the Chambal river, the Lotus garden is situated some 50 km south of Agra. The site, like all the settings for his gardens, was chosen by Babur personally, spotted when the emperor was examining a Lodi-period reservoir.

[4] Zain Khan, p. 156.
[5] Babur, p. 533.
[6] M. Ashraf Husain, "Inscriptions of the Emperor Babur," *Epigraphia Indica: Arabic and Persian Supplement* 1965, 50–51. Hereafter cited as *EIAPS*.
[7] Babur, pp. 581, 584.
[8] Gulbadan Begam, *Humayun Nama*, tr. A. S. Beveridge (London, 1902), pp. 102–03.

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Plate 6. Pool, Bagh-i Nilufar (Lotus garden), Dholpur

Babur describes the process of building the garden in some detail and refers to a mosque, bath, well, twenty-six rock spouts, pillars, watercourses cut terrace-like into the terrain, and stone platforms. The bath, well and water channels are still extant, although little remains of the garden's original character; however, a centrally situated large lotus-shaped pool (Plate 6) as well as smaller pools, some with edging resembling lotus petals, are still visible. Lotus-shaped pools and tanks had been used earlier in India, for example in the Sultanate of Mandu, but the notion of terraced symmetrical gardens divided into four quarters by courses of running water was introduced into India by Babur.

No traces of the original planting remain, but the placement and choice of plants at the Lotus garden, as at all Babur's gardens, were probably by the emperor. For example, melons brought from Kabul were grown successfully in Agra, grapes were introduced into India, trees were grafted and flowers especially cultivated for their color. His memoirs reveal a deep personal involvement with the cultivation of plants and flowers for his own gardens, and one section is devoted solely to a discussion of the fruits and trees of Hindustan. In short, Babur knew all potential plantings for his garden, and he demonstrated himself ultimate master and creator of each garden. Recalling that Zain Khan uses the garden metaphor for Babur's state, Babur's portrayal of himself as its master assumes special significance.

Babur issued orders that regular, symmetrical gardens and orchards were to

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be laid out in all large cities.[9] A garden constructed in conjunction with a mosque was completed in Panipat upon imperial order.[10] In Gwalior, Rahim Dad, superintendent of Gwalior fort, constructed his own garden.[11] It no longer remains, although a madrasa constructed in a local style adjacent to the garden does. Doubtless other gardens not mentioned in the memoirs were built as well. This introduction of a new aesthetic and ordering of the land, a land that Babur refers to as "disorderly Hind,"[12] should be construed as concrete evidence of the Mughals' Timurid heritage. That these four-part, ordered gardens represented a Timurid tradition, even in the eyes of Babur's Indian subjects, may be surmised from their names. The area in Agra developed under Babur's nobles, Zain Khan, Yunus ᶜAli and Khalifa, was called Kabul by local inhabitants;[13] and today the area in Panipat where Babur's garden originally stood is still called Kabuli Bagh.

The quest for a Mughal style

Babur's memoirs indicate that the construction of permanent buildings assumed less importance for him than the construction of gardens. Just as he camped in gardens in Kabul when moving from site to site, so too in India the garden served as his camp. Moreover, his precarious financial situation – where the payment of troops had to be his first priority – left fewer resources for large stone monuments. Nevertheless, buildings were constructed, enough to employ almost 1,500 stone cutters at work on projects throughout his north Indian domain.[14]

Babur's view of indigenous Indian architecture is only partially reflected in his comment about a mosque within his Agra fort garden. He considered the building unattractively constructed in the "Hindustani fashion."[15] While his objections are vague, Zain Khan elaborates that the foundations as well as the walls of this Agra mosque were strong, constructed of brick and stone, but the "composition was not conformable,"[16] that is, not harmonious, referring to the spatial organization, doubtless much less sophisticated than that of Timurid prototypes. But Babur did not dislike all Indian architecture, for he describes favorably at some length the palaces of the Gwalior fort, praising especially those of Man Singh Tomar discussed in the previous chapter. Its special appeal lay in the carved stone walls, tiled facades and exterior *chattris*.[17] Just as Timur had admired Indian stone masons and some 225 years earlier had carried some back to work on his own buildings in Samarqand, so Babur – who had noted this in his memoirs – also favored the work of these artisans and employed

[9] Zain Khan, p. 156.
[10] *EIAPS*, 53–56.
[11] Babur, p. 610.
[12] Babur, p. 532.
[13] Babur, p. 532.
[14] Babur, p. 520.
[15] Babur, p. 533.
[16] Zain Khan, p. 162.
[17] Babur, pp. 608–09.

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them freely.[18] Still today the hand of Indian masons is evident on the tanks at the Dholpur Lotus garden. These masons had been rewarded with gifts by Babur, who admired their craft.[19] He was astonished at the ability of Indian masons to inlay and bond pieces of colored stone without the use of mortar.[20]

In spite of his admiration for Indian craftsmen, Babur was concerned that the overall design of his structures in India should be modeled on Khurasani, that is, Timurid examples.[21] Such models, for example, were probably followed in the design of one structure in the Agra Hasht Behisht garden. Although it is only known from textual description, it appears to have had a large *pishtaq* on each of four sides, connecting galleries and four small interior chambers.[22] Possibly to insure fidelity to Timurid models, two artisans from Central Asia came to work for Babur in India. One was Mir Mirak Ghiyas, identified as a stone cutter in Babur's memoirs, possibly identical with Mirak Sayyid Ghiyas, the designer of Humayun's tomb, who came from Herat and owned much land in Khurasan.[23] A second stone cutter, Ustad Shah Muhammad, first had served Babur in Qandahar before his incursions into India and continued in his employ until at least 1529, the year before Babur's death.[24] These men doubtless enjoyed a status far higher than that of ordinary craftsmen, for routine workers would not have been identified by name.

Among the buildings of Babur's time that survive are one imperially patronized mosque and two others constructed by nobles on Babur's orders. These were all built in the final years of his reign. This is notable, for until Babur's conquest of India there is no evidence for his patronage of religious structures.[25]

The mosque that Babur himself provided is in Panipat, today in Karnal District of Haryana State (Plates 7–8). Inscriptions indicate that the mosque was well under way, if not finished, by the end of 1527, and its gate, well and garden were finished by 1528. The mosque is not mentioned in literary sources; Babur's memoirs contain lacunae for this period, and Zain Khan's work ends abruptly with the events of early 1527. Nevertheless, we can certainly assume that the complex commemorates Babur's decisive victory over Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat and thus the Mughal conquest of Hindustan.

Since the garden has disappeared, the mosque's location within it is not known. However, the building's large size suggests that it, rather than the garden, dominated the complex. The rectangular prayer chamber, measuring

[18] Babur, pp. 77, 520. [19] Babur, p. 634.
[20] Zain Khan, p. 157. [21] Zain Khan, p. 160. [22] Zain Khan, p. 157.
[23] Babur, p. 642. Baha al-Din Hasan Nisari Bukhari, *Mudhakkir-i Ahbab* (New Delhi, 1969), pp. 37, 103, 283–86, discusses the architect and landscape designer Mirak Sayyid Ghiyas (also known as Mirak Mirza Ghiyas).
[24] Babur, pp. 343, 642.
[25] Howard Crane, "The Patronage of Zahir al-Din Babur and the Origins of Mughal Architecture," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 1, 1987, 96–97.

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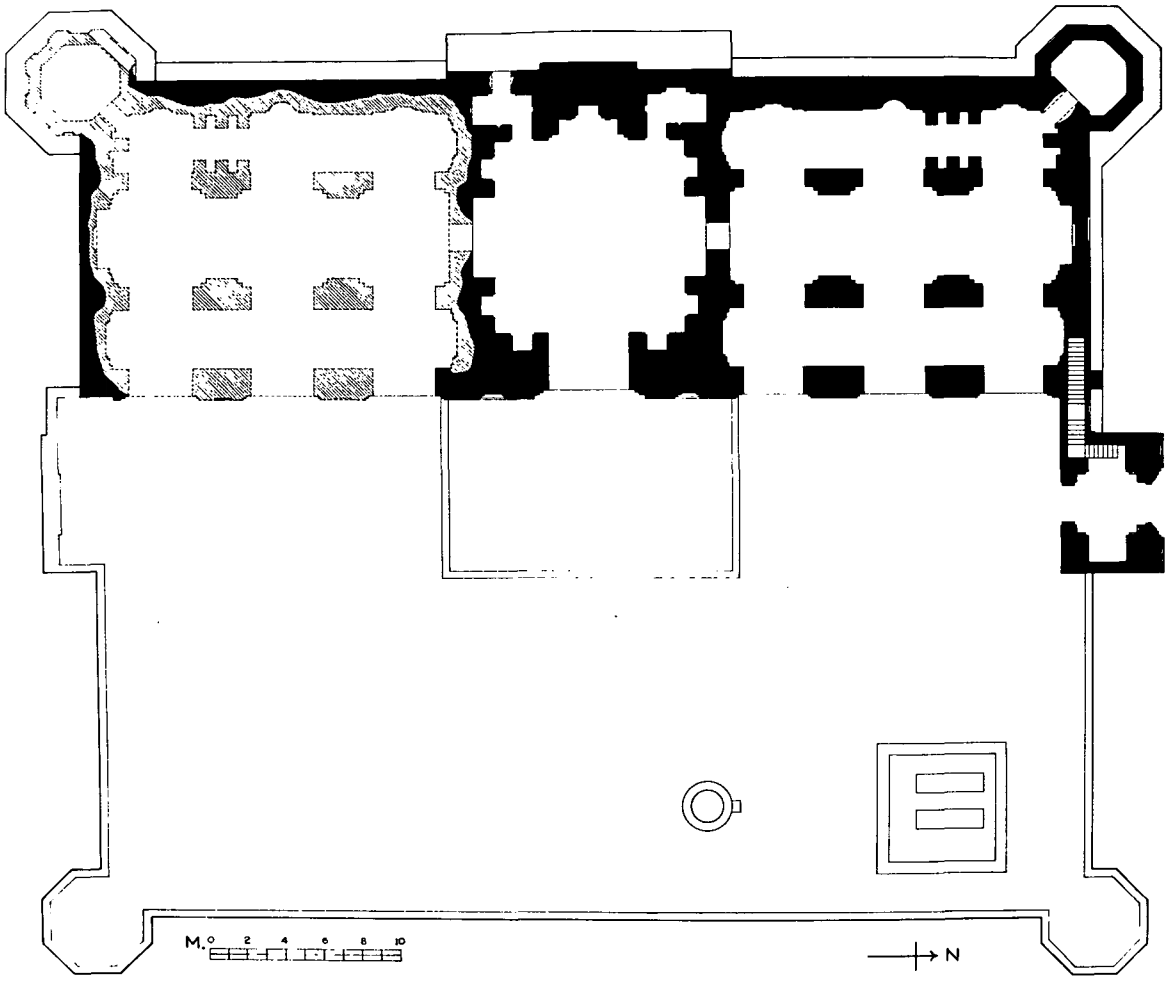

Plate 7. Babur's mosque, today known as Kabuli Bagh mosque, Panipat

53.75 by 16.50 meters, is dominated by a large central domed bay flanked on either side by three-bayed triple-aisled side wings. Each bay of the side wings is entered by an arched opening supported on massive piers. Over the mosque's brick construction is a heavy stucco veneer, reminiscent of that covering much Sultanate architecture. The northwest and southwest corners of the mosque were marked by octagonal towers crowned by domed pavilions, although only one survives. Each of the mosque's bays is surmounted by a dome, those over the westernmost aisle being smaller than those on the east.

The large central bay's qibla wall, the one oriented toward Mecca, is stone-faced, but elsewhere the veneer on the mosque's interior is stucco over a brick core. This central bay is the mosque's focal point, visible even from the outside

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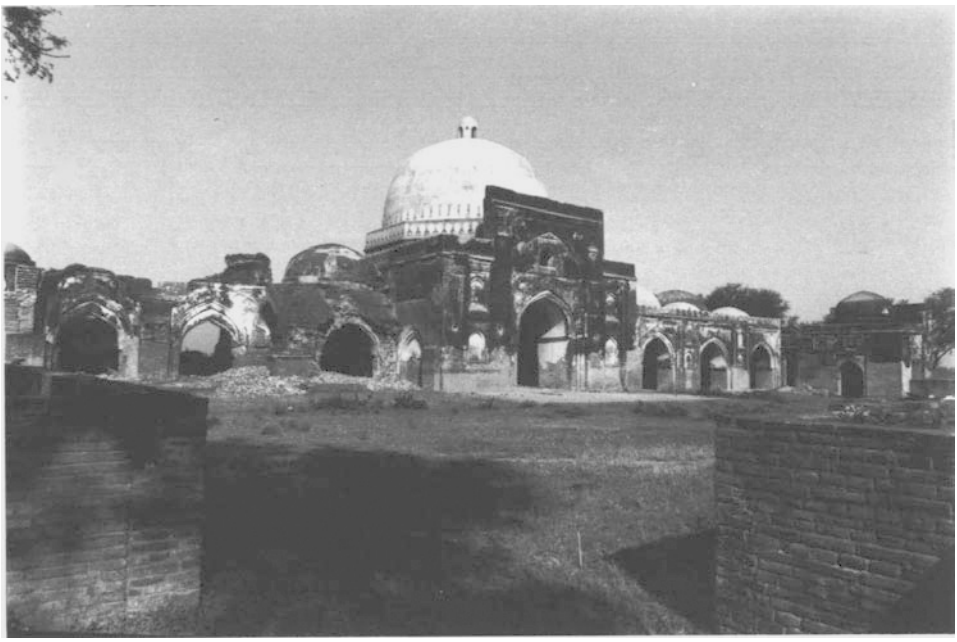

Plate 8. Babur's mosque, Panipat

through the wide entrance. Attention is drawn to the mihrab by an epigraph – including the Throne Verse from the Quran, and an historical inscription dated 1527–28 – rendered dramatically in black stone against white marble. While the chamber itself is a simple domed structure, recalling the Lodi Bara Gumbad built in Delhi's Lodi Gardens in 1494, the appearance of net pendentives here used only decoratively, evokes a Timurid flavor. Each side wing is divided into two aisles by massive brick piers; the resulting bays are crowned by domes resting on brick pendentives that are covered by a thick stucco veneer modeled to resemble net squinches, introduced to north India by the Mughals.

A stone gate stands in the courtyard's north wall. It is carved in the tradition of earlier Lodi gates, for example that at the Lodi-period tomb of Khwaja Khizr dated 1522–24 in nearby Sonepat. Most of the enclosure wall has disappeared, but remains suggest that the entire courtyard was walled and that each side had similar gates.

The Panipat mosque's prayer chamber appears to have been loosely modeled on the type of congregational mosque used by the Timurids. It also incorporates features of mosques built by the pre-Lodi sultans in this region. This mosque type, however, was favored by Babur not because of any earlier Indian associations, but for two rather different reasons. First, it is decidedly different from the single-aisled multi-bayed type used exclusively by Babur's immediate predecessors, the Afghan Lodis. Notably at Panipat, the site of this mosque,

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Babur had defeated the Lodis. Second, it is a type that, although somewhat transformed in the process of Indian translation, had been constructed by Timur, for example in his Bibi Khanum mosque in Samarqand. As the Mughal Babur was the only surviving Timurid ruler, it must have been especially important for him to preserve at least a vestige of Timurid architectural forms.

A vestige it is, no more, surprising in light of Babur's admiration for the architecture of the great Central Asian Timurid cities Samarqand and Herat. Despite his regard for Timurid architecture, it could not be replicated on Indian soil. It appears that there were only a few artists trained in the Timurid homeland and probably no architect capable of introducing the complex Timurid engineering principles. Moreover, Babur lacked the wealth needed for such construction.[26] Instead, local architects and artisans relied closely on older but familiar Indian techniques.

Two other mosques remain that were constructed by leading nobles following Babur's orders. Probably these orders were general ones, not commands to erect specific mosques. One of these mosques is at Sambhal (Plate 9), about 140 km east of Delhi. It was constructed in 1526 by Mir Hindu Beg, an important noble in the court of both Babur and Humayun. Built a year before Babur's Kabuli Bagh mosque in Panipat, the Sambhal mosque is the first extant Mughal building in India. The complex is entered through a gate on the east that opens to a large walled courtyard. The prayer chamber, like the one of the Panipat mosque, is rectangular with a large square central bay. Its entrance is set into a high *pishtaq*, recalling those of Sharqi mosques at Jaunpur. The chamber is flanked on either side by three-bayed double-aisled side wings. A single dome surmounts the central bay, and a small flatish dome surmounts each bay of the side wings. The mosque's *pishtaq* and other features resembling fifteenth-century Sharqi structures in nearby Jaunpur suggest a reliance on local artisans and designers.

Even though the Sambhal mosque was renovated at least twice in the seventeenth century, enough of its original state remains to show that the plan and general appearance anticipate Babur's Panipat mosque commenced the following year.[27] The size (40.5 by 12.4 meters), too, anticipates the scale of Babur's imperial mosque, thus making this mosque at Sambhal the largest one constructed in the Delhi region since Timur's sack of that city in 1398. This mosque is situated high on a hill and dominates the city for a considerable distance. According to Hindu lore that was known to the Mughals, the tenth and last incarnation of Vishnu will appear in Sambhal at the end of this era (*yuga*).[28]

[26] Crane, "Zahir al-Din Babur," 106.
[27] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952–53, pp. 97–98. Hereafter cited as *ARIE*.
[28] Abu al-Fazl, *A'in-i Akbari*, 3 vols., Vol. I tr. H. Blochmann, Vols. II and III tr. H. S. Jarrett (reprint eds., Delhi and New Delhi, 1965–78), II: 285. Hereafter cited as *Ain*.

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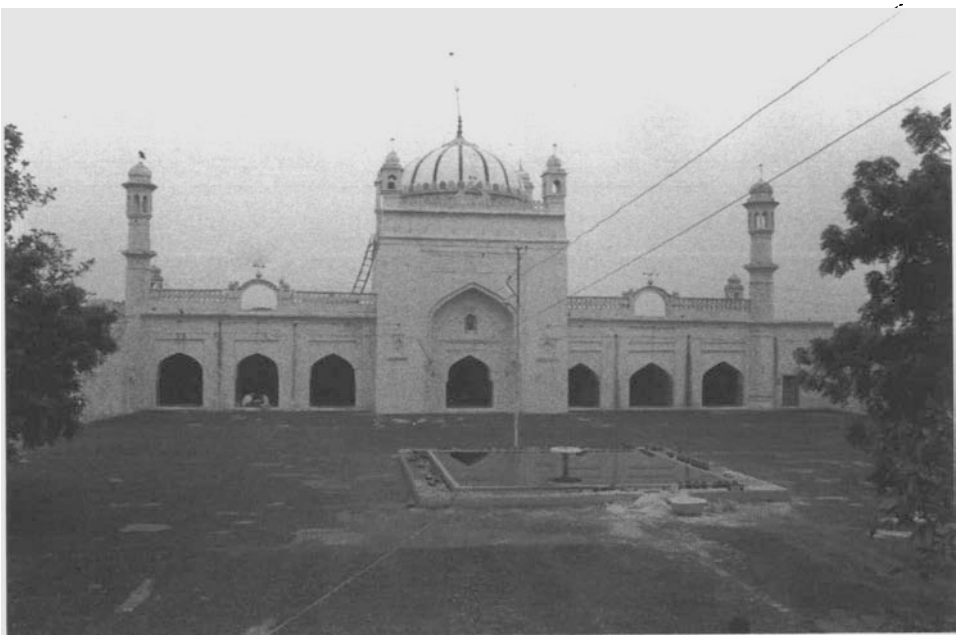

Plate 9. Mir Hindu Beg's mosque, Sambhal

A second mosque (Plate 10) probably built in response to Babur's general orders, not a specific command, stands at Ayodhya, today in Faizabad District, on the banks of the Ghaghara river. Three inscriptions indicate it was constructed by Mir Baqi, a noble, in 1528–29, that is, after the mosques at Sambhal and Panipat. Unlike the other mosques built under Babur's auspices, this one at Ayodhya is a single-aisled three-bayed type. It is also considerably smaller than the other two. The central bay's *pishtaq* is much higher than the flanking side bays, but all three bays contain arched entrances. Most of the mosque is stucco-covered, over a rubble or brick core, but carved black stone columns from a pre-twelfth-century temple are embedded into either side of the central entrance porch. The mosque is surmounted by three prominent domes.

The site today is highly charged. Many claim the mosque, situated on a hillock, replaces a temple which Babur had destroyed. Today this mound popularly is considered the birthplace of the Hindu deity Rama. An important Mughal chronicler, writing about seventy years after the mosque's construction, acknowledges Ayodhya's sanctity as Rama's dwelling,[29] but says nothing about the exact site of Rama's birth. It is thus difficult to disentangle recent popular passion from historical accuracy.

All the same, Ayodhya was a site of great importance to Babur's Hindu

[29] *Ain*, II: 189.

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subjects in the Mughal period. The incorporation of older Hindu architectural members prominently displayed on the mosque's facade, at a period when the reuse of Hindu material was highly unusual, suggests the patron, Mir Baqi, was attempting to make a general statement of Muslim superiority.[30] This mosque, then, like the others of Babur's time, appears to be located in an area that had a charged significance. Babur's own mosque in Panipat was built on the site of Lodi defeat and Mughal victory, while the other two sites were both associated, however loosely, with ancient Hindu tradition.

Babur's choice of Panipat for a mosque is not difficult to understand. However, the construction of mosques on sites associated with non-Islamic tradition is less comprehensible for a ruler who claimed his right to sovereignty based on his Timurid heritage and Turkishness, not on religious grounds.[31] While such rhetoric predominated in his pre-India conquest, once he established himself permanently in India, Babur added the establishment of Islam as a mission of his rule. He referred to Hindus as *kafirs*, that is, pagans or infidels, and war against his greatest Indian threat, Rana Sangam, was termed *jihad* or holy war.[32] Shortly after his victory over Rana Sangam, Babur assumed the title Ghazi, that is, a warrior dedicated to the cause of Islam, and wrote a verse stating his resolve to defeat Hindus and pagans.[33] All this rhetoric followed the long-established practice of Islamic rulers conquering non-Islamic lands. The placement of the Ayodhya and Sambhal mosques by his nobles in generally charged locales was well in keeping with the spirit of Babur's new legitimizing rhetoric.

Babur ruled Hindustan for less than five years before his death in December, 1530. Although he ruled for only a short time, he introduced Timurid architectural concepts and, most importantly, the rationally organized four-part paradise garden. This latter in particular was to become a Mughal trademark.

HUMAYUN

Humayun's reign

In 1530 Humayun, designated by Babur as his successor, acceded to the throne. Humayun was sensitive, kind and intelligent, but lacked long-term wisdom and a mature understanding of statecraft. He had proven himself capable in warfare; however, he was inclined to lose the fruits of his victory by abandoning himself to long periods of pleasure and celebration. For example, after victories in Gujarat, Mandu and Gaur, Humayun remained in the palaces of the

[30] The pillars appear to bear Shivite, not Vishnuite, iconography. This suggests strongly that the pillars were not *spolia* from a temple dedicated to the Hindu deity Rama.
[31] Crane, "Zahir al-Din Babur," 107. [32] Babur, pp. 481, 518, 484, 569–74, 577. [33] Babur, pp. 574–75.

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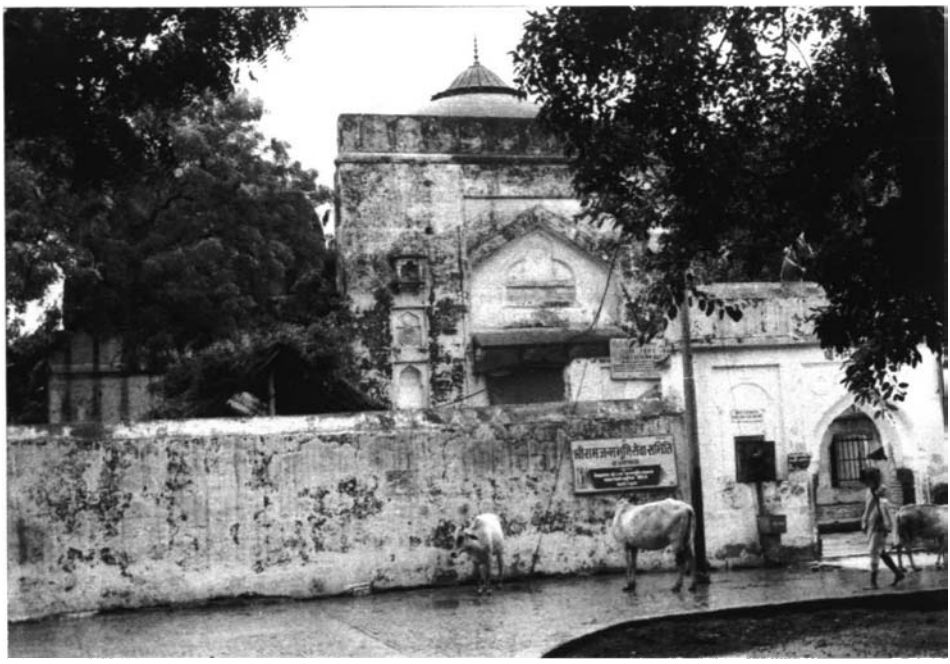

Plate 10. Mir Baqi's mosque, today known as the Baburi mosque, Ayodhya

defeated for extended periods. Meanwhile the Mughal opponents' strength increased, giving them time to plot Humayun's downfall. The most serious of these adversaries was the Afghan, Sher Shah Sur, based in eastern India.

Humayun underestimated Sher Shah's potential and occupied himself with lesser rivals in western India. In 1536, Humayun, alarmed by reports of Sher Shah's activities, headed toward Bihar and Bengal, where he captured Gaur, the Bengal capital. Apparently unaware that Sher Shah had proclaimed himself sultan, Humayun spent the next nine months in pursuit of pleasure in Gaur, even renaming the city Jannatabad, or Abode of Paradise. This led to his defeat in 1538 in a decisive battle with Sher Shah at Chausa, in Bihar. The Mughal emperor managed to escape across the swollen Ganges river, although most of his retinue drowned in its waters. He was then forsaken by his brothers, each of whom sought the Mughal crown for himself. As a result of this division, Humayun was again defeated by Sher Shah, this time at Kanauj in 1540. Sher Shah then assumed the throne of Delhi and drove Humayun from Hindustan. Homeless, Humayun and his wife, Hamida, were pursued through Rajasthan, where their first son, Akbar, was born in 1542. Reaching Kabul in 1543, they left the prince Akbar there in the charge of one of Humayun's brothers. Although Humayun himself was not safe from his brothers' treachery, Timurid custom protected the young child.

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By 1544, Humayun reached Iran and found refuge in the Safavid court of Shah Tahmasp. The relationship between the deposed Mughal and this Safavid ruler was not a comfortable one, since Shah Tahmasp insisted that Humayun embrace Shiism just as Babur had been forced to do some years earlier. Nevertheless, Shah Tahmasp's support eventually enabled Humayun to regain the Mughal throne in 1555. These years in Iran introduced Humayun not only to Safavid painters and painting but also to the architecture of Herat and Samarqand and to the Timurid–Safavid Iranian traditions that Babur had so admired.

Humayun's patronage

With the exception of a single inscribed mosque in Agra, no other surviving structure indisputably results from Humayun's patronage. Some hold that the Delhi Purana Qal^{c}a, its mosque and octagonal pavilion (Plate 11) also are his. Despite the dearth of remaining buildings from Humayun's time, contemporary sources refer to his architectural output. They describe, for example, his unique conceptions, although they are based on Timurid design concepts. One of them was a floating palace formed from four barges each bearing an inward facing arch and attached in such a manner that an octagonal pool formed the central portion. In addition, he designed three-storied collapsible palaces, gilded and domed.

More traditional palaces were constructed at Gwalior, Agra and Delhi. Neither the Gwalior palace, constructed of chiselled stones, nor the multi-storied Agra palace, with its octagonal tank, connected via subterranean passages to other parts of the palaces, survives.

Much controversy centers around Humayun's role in erecting the fortified enclosure today known as Delhi's Purana Qal^{c}a. Humayun commenced a walled city and imperial palace on this site in 1533. The city, named Din-Panah or Refuge of Religion, was auspiciously situated upon the age-old site known as Indraprastha, long associated with the traditional Hindu epic *Mahabharata*. The city was also located in very close proximity to the shrine of Delhi's most revered saint, Nizam al-Din Auliya. The choice of the site must have been made with its history in mind, for Humayun, superstitious yet religious, sought advice from learned men as well as astrologers. Even after Humayun's victorious return to India in 1555, this site remained symbolic for the Mughals, for, as we shall see, Humayun's tomb was constructed in this same area.

Khwand Amir, a noble in Humayun's court, reports that by 1534 the "walls, bastions, ramparts and gates" of Humayun's Din-Panah were nearly completed, adding that it was hoped that the "great and lofty buildings" of the city

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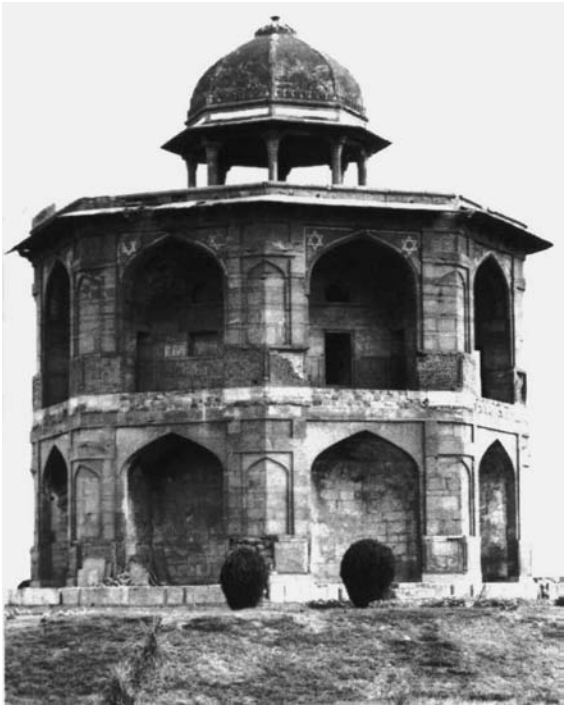

Plate 11. Sher Mandal, Delhi

soon would be finished.[34] It is difficult to tell from Khwand Amir's bombastic prose exactly how much of the city in reality was ready by 1534; moreover, it is impossible to judge how much was completed before Sher Shah's accession to the Delhi throne in 1540, for Humayun was constantly engaged in defending the Mughal domain and struggling to maintain his crown. Sher Shah probably completed the fort and constructed its interior Qal^{c}a-i Kuhna mosque discussed in the previous chapter. Humayun almost certainly built the fort's small octagonal pavilion, known as the Sher Mandal (Plate 11) and traditionally associated with the library upon whose steps Humayun fatally fell in 1556, less than a year after his successful return to India. Abu al-Fazl, the official chronicler of Humayun's son and successor, Akbar, writes that the building in which Humayun had his fatal accident had only recently been completed,[35] presumably by Humayun. The pavilion's design, close to Timurid garden pavilions and unlike Sultanate architectural types, suggests Mughal

[34] Muhammad Khwand Amir, *Qanun-i Humayuni*, tr. Baini Prasad (Calcutta, 1940), pp. 59–60.
[35] Abu al-Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, 3 vols., tr. H. Beveridge (reprint ed., Delhi, 1972–73), 1: 656. Hereafter cited as *Akbar Nama*.

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patronage. So does the appearance of the net pendentives in the structure's vaulting.

The sole inscribed monument belonging to Humayun's patronage is a mosque in Agra known after the name of its locality, Kachpura (Plate 12). Two inscriptions indicate that the mosque was completed in 1530, the year of Humayun's accession to the throne. Its location, across the Jumna from the land on which the Taj Mahal was later built, may have been the site of the Hasht Behisht garden, or Garden of Eight Paradises, used for Babur's court. This garden also most likely continued to serve as Humayun's court until he constructed his Delhi citadel.[36] Like Babur's mosques, this one in Kachpura is mentioned in no text. It resembles Babur's Panipat mosque (Plates 7 and 8) in general plan and appearance, although the central *pishtaq* is much higher and the central vaulted chamber achieves a greater sense of open space than did the only slightly earlier Mughal mosques. The open character of the central bay with low flanking bays recalls earlier Timurid mosques, for example the Jamiᶜ mosque at Nishapur. As at Babur's Panipat mosque, stucco covers a brick core. On Humayun's mosque, eight-pointed stars and lozenge patterns are imprinted into the rectangular facade; possibly these were once painted to emphasize the design, evoking the brightly colored glazed tile ornamentation of Herat and Samarqand. The mosque today is ruined, so it is unclear how many bays originally composed the double-aisled side wings. The interior central bay is surmounted by a dome supported on kite-shaped pedentives and net squinches. The smaller domes of the resulting side wings are similarly supported. While no traces of enclosure walls and entrance gates remain, they were almost certainly part of the original plan. The overall appearance and plan of this structure suggests that it, like Babur's Panipat mosque, was intended to emulate older Timurid types.

NON-IMPERIAL ARCHITECTURE UNDER BABUR AND HUMAYUN

Architecture erected in the Delhi region by those close to Babur and Humayun appears little influenced by Timurid concepts; rather, what remains reflects the older Lodi style. The most significant examples are at the shrine (*dargah*) around the tomb of Nizam al-Din Auliya. Belonging to the Chishti order, Nizam al-Din is Delhi's most esteemed Muslim saint. This shrine gained renewed significance in the Mughal period. In it is the tomb of Amir Khusrau (d. 1325), considered the greatest Persian poet of Hindustan. This tomb was restored by Babur's brother-in-law, who provided an inscribed marble slab next to an open-air grave. In Humayun's reign, in 1531–32, a red sandstone

[36] *ASIR*, IV: 101–02.

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Plate 12. Humayun's mosque, also known as the Kachpura mosque, Agra

screened enclosure (Plate 13) was built around the grave.[37] This screen, carved with geometric and floral patterns, recalls Lodi-period tombs, for example that of Yusuf Qattal, also in Delhi.

Other monuments of this time include the mosque of Ghazanfar, constructed in 1528–29 during Babur's reign near the Delhi airport in Palam. In another part of Delhi, Malvianagar, a residential center for spiritual study (*khanqah*) was built in 1534–35 to honor Shaikh Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakar, a long deceased saint. That makes it contemporary with Humayun's Din-Panah, although it reveals no awareness of new imperial forms. Both the mosque and *khanqah* are squat single-aisled three-bayed structures notable for neither their proportions nor ornamentation.

Inscriptions indicate that mosques, tombs and other structures continued to be erected by men of all ranks and classes outside of Delhi during the early Mughal period. However, few of these remain in their original state. Like sub-imperial monuments in the Delhi area, they reveal little or no Timurid influence. For example, the tomb of Tardi Kochak in Hisar, dated 1537–38 by

[37] Zafar Hasan, *A Guide to Nizamu-d Din*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 10 (Calcutta, 1922), pp. 22–25.

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Plate 13. Mihrab on screen around Amir Khusrau's tomb, Delhi

a stucco inscription incised on its facade,[38] is a square-plan structure whose facade is articulated by a series of slightly recessed niches closely resembling the Lodi-period tombs of Delhi.

One more structure suggests the persistence of the older Lodi style. It is a small three-bayed single-aisled mosque in Fatehabad (Hisar District, Haryana), known as the Humayuni mosque (Plate 14). An inscription now detached from the structure bears the date 1539 and describes the construction of a mosque during Humayun's reign. This is probably the very mosque identified in the inscription.[39] Although another inscription on the mosque indicates that it was renovated in the nineteenth century, features from the time of Humayun are quite apparent. Small glazed tiles on the east facade, for example, are reminiscent of those on two sixteenth-century buildings in Hansi, about 30 km away: the Barsi gate restored in 1522 and the tomb of ᶜAli Mir Tijara.

[38] Subhash Parihar, *Mughal Monuments in Punjab and Haryana* (New Delhi, 1985), p. 29, plate 22.
[39] *ASIR*, IV: 12, and Paul Horn, "Muhammadan Inscriptions from the Subah of Delhi," *Epigraphia Indica*, II, 1884, p. 425.

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Plate 14. Mosque known as the Humayuni mosque, Fatehabad

THE LEGACY BEQUEATHED

Ibn Khaldun, the fourteenth-century Islamic political thinker and historian, observed that the founders of dynasties generally channel substantial effort into consolidating their political strength, leaving little time for extensive architectural construction.[40] Nonetheless, the architecture of both Babur and Humayun sowed the seeds for future construction under the Mughals. This is especially true for the *types* of works built, although the purpose and meaning will change somewhat as the state matures and evolves its unique notions of legitimacy. Babur introduced the *char bagh* garden, which for him was a visual metaphor for his ability to control and order the arid Indian plains and ultimately its population. Subsequently such gardens gain even greater popularity, especially when used as a paradisical setting for funereal monuments. Before his conquest of India, Babur had built no mosques. In Hindustan, however, he

[40] Ibn Khaldun, *The Maqaddimah*, 3 vols., tr. Franz Rosenthal (Princeton, 1958), 1: 353–56.

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built mosques, probably because of his newly assumed role as a warrior in the cause of Islam. Humayun, too, built at least one mosque; however, his construction of palaces and pleasure pavilions reflected his apparent self-indulgence. The palace and its role as the center of regal ceremony, increasingly significant in each ruler's interpretation of the nature of Mughal kingship, continues as a major architectural form through the eighteenth century. Babur and Humayun, each keenly aware of their Timurid heritage, attempted to introduce Timurid-inspired architectural forms and spatial conceptions into India. Although the outcome was not necessarily successful, the ideology behind such forms is maintained by their Mughal successors.

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Plate 47. *Hammam*, Jaunpur

visited the fort personally, but in describing that visit Abu al-Fazl neglected to note the fort's appearance. However, its present appearance suggests that much of it was constructed in Akbar's reign. Chunar's stone quarries, famous since Maurya times, provided abundant stone and skilled masons. Thus, the task of rebuilding the fort was relatively simple.

The fort's west gate is its only inscribed structure. It bears four Persian epigraphs indicating that the gate was built during the reign of Akbar in 1573–74 by Muhammad Sharif Khan.[57] His identity has not yet been established, although he may have been the son of ᶜAbd al-Samad, the famous painter. Muhammad Sharif probably served under Munᶜim Khan, who had been granted Chunar and a great deal of surrounding territory as income-yielding land in 1567.[58] Munᶜim Khan held Chunar until his death in 1575.[59]

This gate bears little ornamentation other than the beautifully executed calligraphic slabs. The fort's other gates, by contrast, have intricately carved panels and brackets (Plate 48). Such carving in general fits well with contemporary trends. For example, the S-shaped brackets of the oriel windows on some of these gates more closely resemble work in Agra than any pre-Mughal monuments in eastern India. However, some of the designs, for example a continuous knot motif, are closer to work on Sur-period architecture in Chainpur and Sher Shah's fortress at Shergarh, both some 60 to 75 km east of Chunar, than they are to the Mughal material. This suggests not only a reliance on local artisans, but also a continuation of some regional traditions.

[57] One of these inscriptions is mentioned briefly in *ARIE*, 1970–71, 138, but the patron's name is omitted.
[58] al-Badayuni, *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh*, II: 104.
[59] *Akbar Nama*, III: 223. Chunar was then given to Rai Sardan.

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Plate 48. Gate, Chunar fort, Chunar

Bihar

In Bihar province, today roughly corresponding to the northern and central portions of Bihar state, by far the most important work of Akbar's time was in the hill fort of Rohtas. In 1576 Akbar's troops captured Rohtas from rebel Afghan forces and used the hill fort, some 45 km in circumference, as a garrison pivotal in controlling the rest of eastern India.

Although Rohtas had served as an important fort under the Sur dynasty, the Mughals developed a different portion of the fort. The palace at Rohtas that Raja Man Singh built was discussed earlier in this chapter, but it was not the first Mughal building in the fort. A mosque (Plate 49) had been built in 1578, only two years after the fort became Mughal. This was the first Mughal monument in all Bihar province. Built by an Akbar loyalist, Habash Khan, who died defending Rohtas against renegade Mughal amirs and Afghan rebels, the mosque is similar in appearance to the Jami^{c} mosque constructed on the hill thirty-five years earlier by Haibat Khan, one of Sher Shah Sur's leading generals. Both adhere to a single-aisled three-bayed rectangular plan. Differences are slight. The central *pishtaq* of the Mughal mosque is lower, and its facade bears intricately carved panels, recalling similar work on a gate at the Chunar fort. Although the Mughal mosque resembles the earlier Afghan one,

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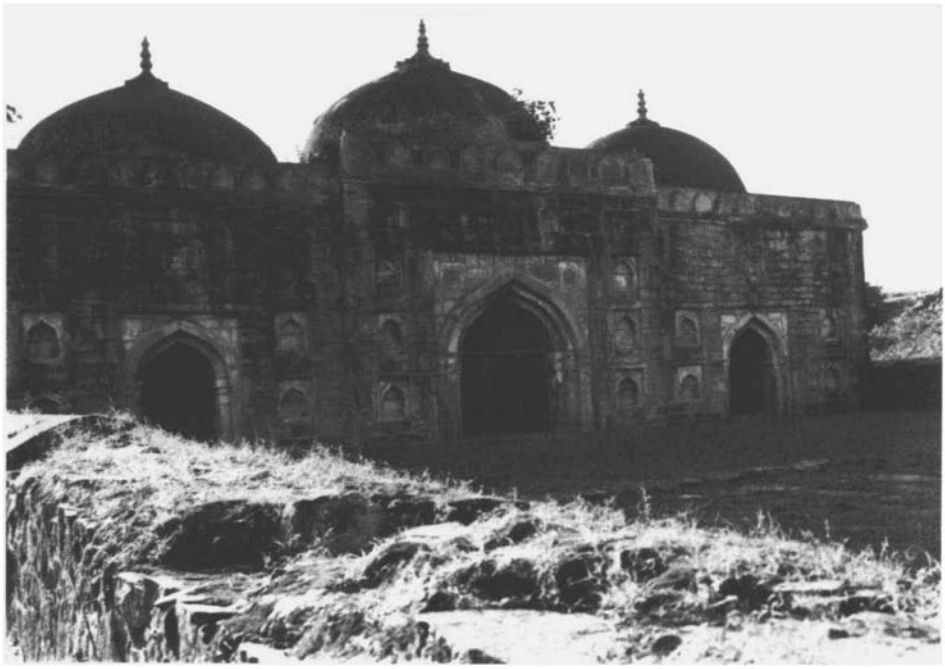

Plate 49. Mosque of Habash Khan, Rohtas

situated about 3 km away, it bears an inscription over the central entrance arch that might be interpreted as a poignant statement of Mughal supremacy. Opening with the Quranic phrase, "With God's help victory is imminent," most of this Persian inscription refers to Akbar's victories and concludes with an appeal, in Arabic, to "deliver this good news to believers."[60] Considering the shaky political situation at this time, the inscription can be interpreted as a proclamation of Mughal authority over rebels in Bihar.

A single mosque is not enough to suggest an urban setting. There were, however, other Akbari structures on the hill which indicate the presence of a permanent and continuous large population. By far the largest and most important of these is the palace of Raja Man Singh, discussed earlier. Numerous smaller buildings, mostly tombs, remain in the vicinity of the palace and Habash Khan's mosque. Among these are a *chattri* and wall mosque serving as the tomb of Saqi Sultan (Plate 45), who died in 1579–80, before he could attain the title khan, which he greatly coveted.[61] Further testimony to the fort's large population is a service town at the foot of the hill. It was – and still is – called Akbarpur, after the then-ruling monarch. Thus, although relatively

[60] Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar* (Patna, 1973), p. 164.
[61] Ahmad, *Inscriptions of Bihar*, pp. 166–67.

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inaccessible and strongly fortified, Rohtas appears to have functioned as a major urban center as long as it remained a significant administrative center. During the latter part of Akbar's reign, Rohtas fort operated in much the same manner as his completely planned city-palace of Fatehpur Sikri. That is, it was the symbolic seat of the head of state, here the Mughal governor of Bihar, who was the official representative of Mughal authority. But here, even more than at Fatehpur Sikri, the commercial and agrarian components largely were aimed at serving the immediate city.

While Rohtas was an important military headquarters, it was the cities of Hajipur, Patna and Munger, situated on the Ganges, as well as Bihar Sharif, the traditional administrative center of Bihar and long a site of tremendous religious importance, that were the major urban settlements. Inscriptions indicate Akbar-period building activity in all of them except Patna. This is ironic, for Patna was very large, even containing the mint for Bihar Province, and except during Man Singh's governorship it was the leading administrative center.

Hajipur, situated at the confluence of the Gandak and Ganges, across from Patna, was considered the key to north Bihar. The city had been the landholding of Sa'id Khan, who on three separate occasions served as governor of Bihar. Here in 1586–87, during Sa'id Khan's first period of governorship, his brother Makhsus Khan built a mosque, the second known Mughal mosque in Bihar. Although the mosque's facade and entrance gate were seriously damaged in the 1934 earthquake, the original layout is intact, and the interior (Plate 50) appears little changed. The mosque's adherence to older Afghan style mosques as well as its Bengali forms, for example, the minbar and curved cornice of the entrance gate, suggest a reliance on local designers. The link with Bengal in particular is not surprising since Hajipur, often in Bengali hands, was an important naval headquarters under the pre-Mughal Husain Shahi dynasty. Thus in Bihar, except for Raja Man Singh's outstanding patronage, architectural design remained conservative.

Bengal

Until 1575 Bengal was under the control of various Afghan houses. Then Akbar's troops brought Bengal into the Mughal empire. Subsequently several revolts against Akbar's authority were staged by renegade nobles of the Mughal camp. Ironically, during this chaotic period, a Mughal style of architecture was introduced by the rebels.

Bengali Islamic architecture had a marked regional character. It was founded on a well-established Islamic style in Bengal illustrated by several monuments constructed on the eve of Mùghal authority there. Among these are the double-aisled six-domed mosque of Kusumba built in 1558–59, and the square-plan single-domed tomb of Pir Bahram in Burdwan dated 1562–63. The former is

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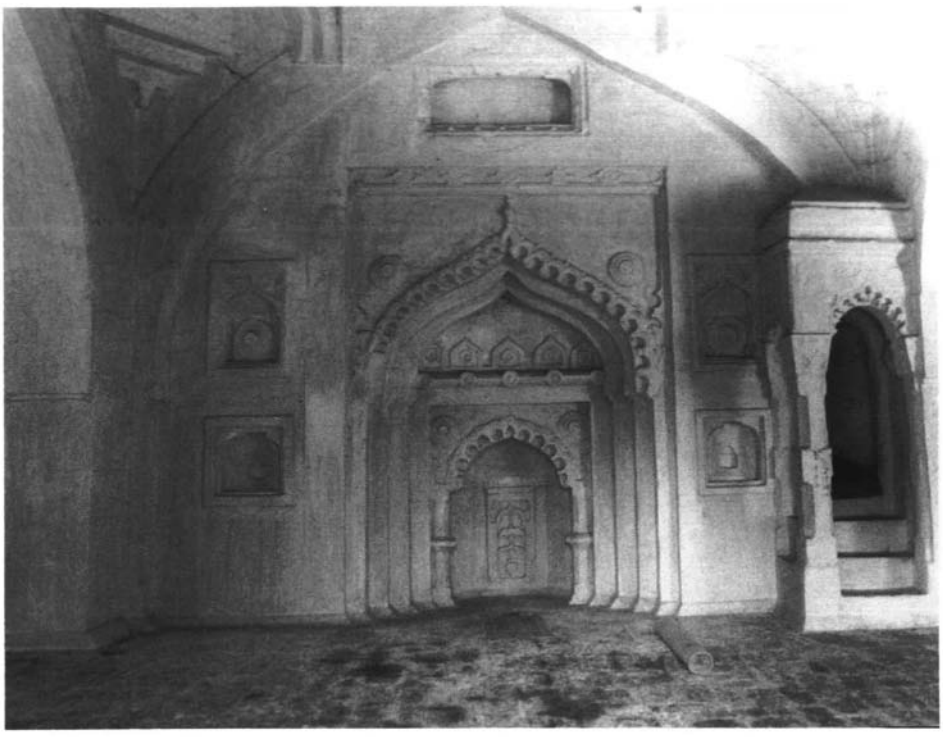

Plate 50. Interior, Makhsus Khan's mosque, known also as the Jamiᶜ mosque, Hajipur

stone-faced, while the latter is brick-constructed, and both, like most pre-Mughal architecture of Islamic Bengal, have a prominent curved cornice. Their plan and elevation – even the ornamental brick – reflect forms that were at the time several centuries old. From this foundation, the Mughal style of Bengal evolves.

Only five years after the establishment of Mughal authority in Bengal, and before any known Mughal building had been erected there, Afghan chiefs revolted against Mughal authority and assumed power. The Afghan Maᶜsum Khan Kabuli, a renegade Mughal noble, declared himself ruler of Bengal, even though the imperial Mughals maintained nominal control. By 1581 Maᶜsum Khan Kabuli had assumed the title of sultan, as indicated by an inscription on the first surviving Mughal monument in Bengal, the Jamiᶜ mosque at Chatmohar (Pabna District). About one year later, in 1582, two mosques were constructed, each reflecting divergent stylistic traditions. The Qutb Shahi mosque of 1582–83 in Pandua, built by Makhdum Shaikh in honor of the long-deceased but deeply revered saint, Nur Qutb ᶜAlam, adheres to a plan popular in Bengal since the fourteenth century. This stone-faced mosque is divided into two aisles of five bays each. Not only is it constructed in the traditional Bengali

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style, but also the inscription is in Arabic, the language of most pre-Mughal inscriptions in Bengal.[62] This is the last stone-faced mosque built in Bengal until the twentieth century, and it is the last small double-aisled rectangular mosque constructed in Bengal until the nineteenth century. A different trend is represented by the single-aisled, three-bayed plan of the Kherua mosque in Sherpur (Bogra District), also built in 1582 (Plate 51). Its patron was Murad Khan, son of Jauhar ᶜAli Khan Qaqshal. The Qaqshal were an Afghan tribe that, along with other Afghan groups who followed Maᶜsum Khan Kabuli, sought to oust the Mughals from Bengal. Sherpur, the city in which the mosque is situated, served as the rebel headquarters. Ironically, however, it was this mosque-type that became standard in Mughal and post-Mughal Bengal.

The Kherua mosque's single-aisled, three-bayed plan recalls not only north Indian types but also that of Habash Khan's mosque of 1578 built in Rohtas (Plate 49). While Bengali features remain, such as the brick construction, curved cornice and engaged ribbed corner turrets, the plan is a departure from that of traditional Bengali mosques. This may be attributed to the fact that the ruler, Maᶜsum Khan Kabuli, and many of his rebel followers who had served earlier in Bihar under the Mughals, were familiar with north Indian forms, as well as with the mosques in the great stronghold of Rohtas. When serving the Mughals they had assisted with the fort's initial takeover and later tried to capture Rohtas for themselves.

Older Hindu sculptures were imbedded in the mosque's east facade, leaving only the back visible; that part was carved with a Persian inscription. Reuse of Hindu materials in such a prominent fashion is rare in Bengal after the fourteenth century; the Qaqshal rebels were probably cut off from sources of freshly quarried stone, which would have been used for an inscription on a brick monument, and so had to rely on available materials. This, as much as desecration of a Hindu shrine, probably explains the images' use. Both epigraphs are written in Persian, the *lingua franca* of the Mughal court, rather than Arabic, more common in Bengal. This is yet another indication that Bengali architecture was moving closer to a pan-Indian idiom whose standards were established at imperial centers. Because of their former association with the Mughal court, the Qaqshal, now rebels, were nevertheless planting the seeds in Bengal of an architectural vocabulary that would become standard throughout the subcontinent from the seventeenth century on.

While the language of the inscriptions is characteristic of Mughal epigraphs, the content of these inscriptions is unusual.[63] However, it is perhaps apt for a mosque constructed by rebels. The inscription, still *in situ*, recounts the story

[62] Shamsud-Din Ahmed, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, IV (Rajshahi, 1960), pp. 256–58.
[63] Ahmed, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, pp. 261–66.

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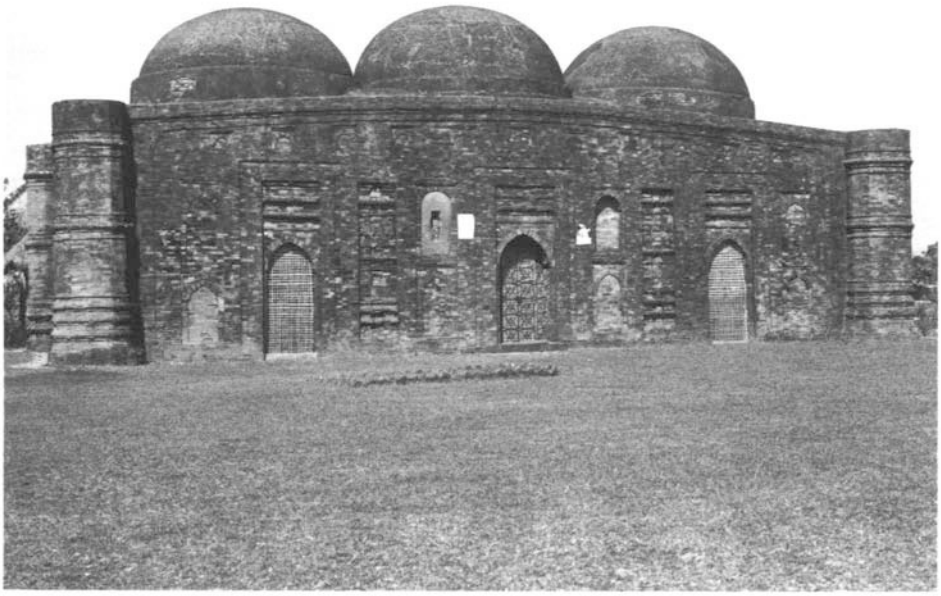

Plate 51. Murad Khan Qaqshal's mosque, today known as the Kherua mosque, Sherpur

of two pigeons from Mecca, a metaphor for the rebel Qaqshal, who request from a faqir shelter for themselves and for their friends. The faqir grants the permission but states that the mosque is small and will not shelter them from violence. In response, the pigeons say that God's wrath would be great if the mosque or pigeons were harmed. The second inscription, no longer *in situ*, also admonishes protection of the mosque. Such a plea for protection is appropriate to the world of rebels and appears to have been taken seriously, for the mosque remains in excellent preservation. The otherwise unknown Nawab Mirza Murad Khan Qaqshal thus should be remembered for erecting the first known Bengali mosque of a type that was to become popular throughout Bengal.

Elsewhere in Bengal, architectural activity in Akbar's time was confined largely to Rajmahal, the capital, where Raja Man Singh was active; his Mughal-style architecture is discussed earlier in this chapter. However, in Malda, a large trade city that benefited from the prosperity of the important shrines in nearby Pandua, a Jamiᶜ mosque (Plate 52) was erected in 1595–96, shortly after Raja Man Singh assumed the governorship of Bengal. This was a period when the Mughals began to have some effect in quelling the dissident rebel forces. In the mosque's inscription, neither the patron nor ruling monarch is recorded. It

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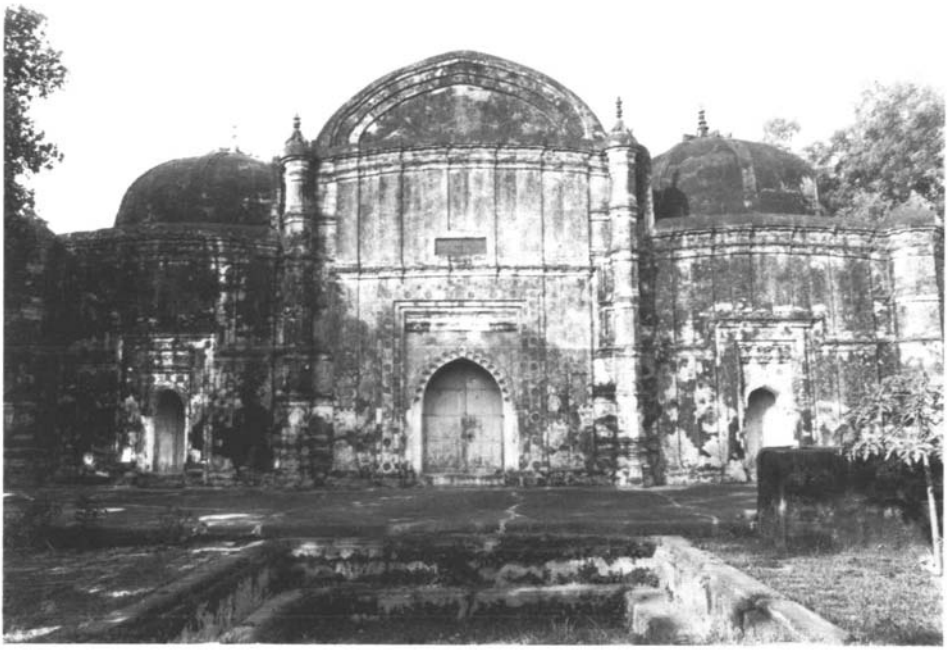

Plate 52. Jamiᶜ mosque, Malda

does, however, identify the mosque's location as in "Hind,"[64] an area roughly corresponding with north India. This reveals identity with the territory then ruled by the Mughals, not just Bengal.

The Malda Jamiᶜ mosque shows an increasing adoption of north Indian forms. The interior gives a sense of open space rarely seen in Bengali rectangular mosques, but common in north Indian examples. The central vaulted corridor is derived from Bengali prototypes, for example the Adina and Gunmant mosques, while north Indian influence is seen in the single-aisled plan. The mosque's ornamentation, too, shows a heightened awareness of north Indian models, for both the facade and interior are largely plastered with a smooth stucco veneer reminiscent, for example, of Humayun's mosque in Kachpura (Plate 12).

The construction of this large mosque suggests the continued economic importance of Malda, despite political turmoil. This is not surprising, for urban centers not wholly created as political centers tend to survive administrative changes, wars and even natural calamity.

The most notable Mughal monument in Malda is a tower known today as the Nim Serai Minar (Plate 53). Located across the river from the mosque, this

[64] Ahmed, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, pp. 258–59.

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Plate 53. Nim Serai Minar, Malda

minaret or tower is aligned with the Jamiᶜ mosque's qibla wall, the west-facing one. Its name, meaning half, suggests a location between Gaur and Pandua and indicates that it probably served as a mile marker, as did the similar tower at Fatehpur Sikri (Plate 27). The location of this tower, on a hill overlooking the confluence of two rivers, at that time major transport routes, suggests that it also may have served as a watch tower.

The tower's facade is covered with stone projections resembling elephant tusks, similar to those on the tower at Fatehpur Sikri. Overall, the Malda tower's form recalls the earlier Chor Minar in Delhi, used to display the heads of thieves. It is thus possible that the Malda tower was constructed when Mughal governors in Bengal were subduing rebel forces and here displayed rebel heads, a custom earlier practiced by the Mughal forebear, Timur. Later than this, during the rebel prince Shah Jahan's bid for the throne in 1625, the heads of some 430 traitors were reportedly on display at Akbarnagar, that is, Rajmahal. In addition, Peter Mundy, traveling through the Mughal empire in 1631, makes references to numerous minarets or towers displaying the heads of executed thieves, noting that these were to be found near important cities. The

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location of the Malda tower, aligned with a mosque inscribed as being situated in greater India, not just Bengal, makes the possibility of this tower serving as a symbol of strong Mughal presence in this trade town all the more likely.

CONCLUSION

During Akbar's reign imperially sponsored architecture incorporates Timurid design concepts with forms, motifs and building techniques long indigenous to Indian architecture. Many of the resulting buildings, for example much of the palace at Fatehpur Sikri, are highly refined products of prevailing Indian tastes, although the organization and spatial arrangements owe much to Timurid concepts. Akbar, like Humayun, was little involved with religious architecture with the exception of the great *khanqah* at Fatehpur Sikri. He built primarily forts and palaces, building types that reflect his concept of the Mughal state. The function of many parts of his palaces is often impossible to determine, reflecting the fluid nature of court ceremony in Akbar's reign. This, as we shall see, contrasts with palaces built under subsequent rulers. Akbar also continued to build *char baghs*, initially introduced to India by Babur. The tomb he built for his father, Humayun, is the first to be set in such a garden. Such funereal settings, evoking visions of paradise, commences what will become a long-standing Mughal architectural concern.

Akbar built primarily at his capitals and also defensively at the major cities on the frontier of his domain, such as Allahabad. But Mughal architecture was not confined to these places; rather, it expanded to the hinterlands. There, though, the architecture was built not by the emperor but by his nobles, whose taste most often echoed that of the center. In this expanding Mughal empire, architecture increasingly served as a symbol of Mughal presence.

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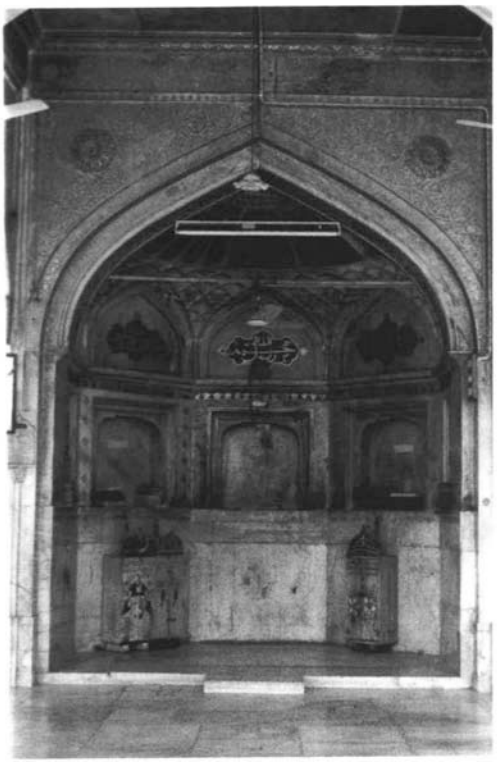

Plate 106. Mihrab, Jamiᶜ mosque, Ajmer

when a prince, had resolved to build a mosque at the shrine of Muᶜin al-Din Chishti in thanksgiving for his second victory over the rana of Mewar in 1615. Because of his devotion to this esteemed saint, the inscription continues, Shah Jahan ordered the construction of a mosque compatible with the tomb's design.[5] The mosque was built without a dome, insuring that the saint's tomb remained the shrine's dominant building.

The inscription further states that Shah Jahan ordered the mosque since there was none aligned with the mausoleum. The mosque's location thus would allow Shah Jahan during prayer to be positioned auspiciously between the qibla of the mosque and the saint's tomb. Finally, the imagery used throughout the inscription compares the mosque to the Kaaba in Mecca, the most sacred monument in Islam. While such imagery is not innovative, the presence of such a lengthy inscription on a Mughal mosque's facade is unusual and, as we shall see, is the first among several that will become standard on Shah Jahan's religious structures. Like the mosque's appearance, the imagery of its inscription anticipates that used in the epigraph of the Agra fort's Jamiᶜ mosque.

[5] Kanbo, I: 182–83.

Although the orders for this mosque were issued in January 1628, shortly before Shah Jahan ascended the throne, it took about nine years to complete. This can be explained by the death of Shah Jahan's favorite wife in 1631 and the subsequent construction of her tomb, the Taj Mahal, which diverted resources and energy. The mosque's inscription is dated 1637–38, but most of the structure must have been completed by the time of the king's visit in December, 1636.[6] At that time, Shah Jahan approached the shrine on foot, as his father and grandfather had done earlier, distributing large sums of money. Shah Jahan visited the shrine two more times. One was in 1643, when he ordered the preparation of food for the poor in the enormous caldrons, or *digs*, given to the shrine by his father, Jahangir. His last visit was in 1654, when he paid homage to the saint on three separate occasions, always approaching the shrine on foot. In that year, he ordered the construction of a large gateway for the shrine to commemorate his subjugation of a troublesome raja.[7] The gate was completed one year later, in 1655. Visible from the road, it serves as the first entrance into the shrine, in front of the much taller gate built earlier. This gate is marked by a pointed ogee arch in the high central *pishtaq*, conforming to the gate which looms above.

The renovation of palace and city

Shah Jahan constructed and renovated forts throughout his reign. For example, he continued to build at the Agra fort long after he shifted his capital to Delhi. However, most of the construction at his Lahore and Agra forts was done in about the first decade of his rule. By contrast, his entire Delhi (Shahjahanabad) fort was executed after 1639. All three of these major projects have striking similarities reflecting continuing Mughal practice. Perhaps the most notable was placing imperial chambers at the fort's far end overlooking a river. This practice was established certainly by Akbar's reign and probably as early as Babur's. Although the Agra and Lahore forts were constructed concurrently, they each have individual personalities and merit separate discussion.

Shortly after his accession, Shah Jahan ordered renovations at the Agra and Lahore forts, then the two most important ones. These are but two examples of Shah Jahan's continual effort to improve existing fortified palaces. In addition new buildings were added to Akbar's and Jahangir's structures in the Gwalior fort,[8] but it was little used by the king and served primarily, as it had earlier, as an important prison. The Kabul fort was Shah Jahan's residence during the unsuccessful campaigns to consolidate territory originally part of the Timurid

[6] Kanbo, II: 175–77.
[7] W. E. Begley, *Monumental Islamic Calligraphy from India* (Villa Park, Illinois, 1985), p. 114.
[8] Kanbo, I: 404–05.

homeland. The emperor's commitment of a half million rupees for work there in 1646 included the construction of several buildings for ceremonial and administrative use, though none of them remains.[9] An identical amount was expended for strengthening the fort of Qandahar between 1648 and 1653 under the supervision of ʿAli Mardan Khan. Improvement here was to prevent the fort's capture by the Safavids.[10]

Lahore

Lahore remained the most important Mughal city after Agra until 1648, when the new imperial capital, Shahjahanabad, surpassed them both. Shah Jahan's additions to the Lahore fort commenced in 1628, the year of his coronation, continuing through 1645. Here, as elsewhere, he was personally involved in establishing the forms for his architecture. He first ordered a Chehil Sutun, or forty-pillared Public Audience Hall. Until its construction, cloth canopies had protected courtiers from the elements when paying homage to the emperor. Although this hall is similar to a better preserved one built concurrently at the Agra fort, it is less elaborate.

About the time Shah Jahan built the Lahore fort's Public Audience Hall, he completed the courtyard containing a tower then known as the Shah Burj, today called the Musamman Burj. It had been commenced under Jahangir, but Shah Jahan was dissatisfied with the appearance of this tower, situated at the fort's northwest corner. Asaf Khan, Shah Jahan's father-in-law and the brother of Nur Jahan, was assigned to oversee the reconstruction, for he more than any other noble understood the emperor's taste. Asaf Khan presented the emperor with several plans, and Shah Jahan himself made the final decision, underscoring the personal role that this fifth Mughal emperor usually played in the development of his own architecture.

The entrance to the Shah Burj quadrangle, known today as the Elephant gate, is a large tile-covered brick structure. It was completed in 1631–32 by ʿAbd al-Karim, also known as Maʿmur Khan, who had designed the Lahore fort's Daulat Khana-i Jahangiri in 1617. The same architect also was probably responsible for the exterior tiled walls built largely in Jahangir's reign adjacent to this gate (Plate 61). This would explain the stylistic homogeneity.

The Shah Burj originally overlooked the river, whose course now has changed. Its white marble buildings, like their counterparts at Shah Jahan's palaces elsewhere, overlook the water and were reserved for the emperor and his family. Among the most impressive is the Shish Mahal (Plate 107). This name is a modern one, deriving from the mirrors, known in Mughal texts as Aleppo glass, that are inlaid into the walls and on the ceiling, thus creating a shimmering effect. Such chambers were even more impressive when filled with

[9] Kanbo, II: 392, 419. [10] Kanbo, III: 61–62.

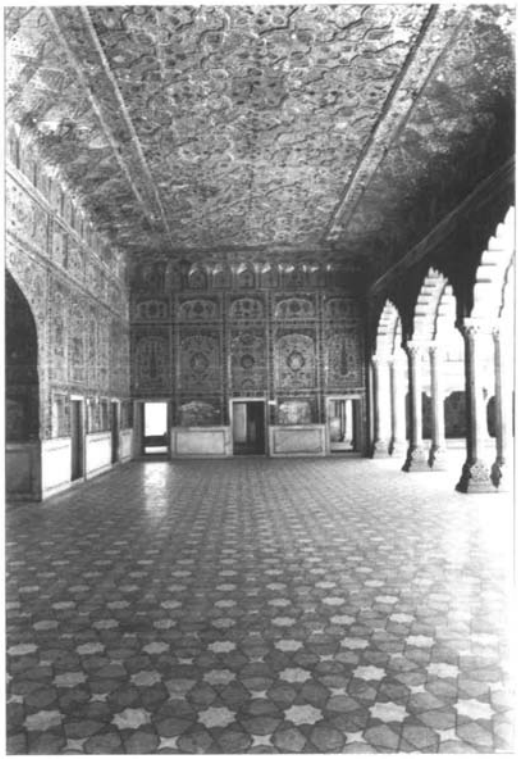

Plate 107. Pavilion within the Shah Burj, known today as the Shish Mahal, Lahore fort, Lahore

the lighted lamps so often mentioned in contemporary texts. The central portion of this pavilion's facade is composed of five cusped marble arches supported on faceted double marble pillars whose bases are inlaid with precious stones. This and a similar pavilion erected about the same time in the Agra fort indicates the emperor's predilection for highly ornate personal chambers.

A small rectangular marble pavilion, known today as the Naulakha (Plate 108), is on the west side of the quadrangle. This exquisitely carved marble building inlaid with stones is generally considered Shah Jahan's, but it may be a later addition. Originally it was covered by a deeply curved sloping roof. Such sloping roofs (*bangala*) were derived in part from the indigenous tradition of Bengal, where Shah Jahan as a rebel prince had spent much time, and in part from the baldachin coverings seen in European illustrations, associated during his reign with religious and royal images.[11] These curved roofs were first used in Mughal architecture by Shah Jahan and are associated with imperial

[11] See E. Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus* (Graz, 1988), p. 14.

Plate 108. Pavilion within the Shah Burj, known today as the Naulakha, Lahore fort, Lahore

presence. Probably this roof, like similar ones in the Agra fort, was of gilded metal (Plate 113). The west facade, overlooking the fortification walls, bears a central arched bay composed of exquisitely carved marble screens; three rectangular windows in the screen possibly served as the *jharoka*, the window through which the king daily presented himself to the public. In the Agra fort is a similar structure constructed about the same time; it is designated by Shah Jahan's court historian as the public viewing window.[12] Enhancing the image of the king's daily appearances at the Naulakha are the glazed tiles illustrating angels leading jinns, Solomonic images of kingship, made of tile mosaic on the spandrels of the arches directly below the openings. This marble pavilion is situated close to the Elephant gate, whose inscription commences with lines that describe Shah Jahan as a Solomon in Grandeur.[13]

Later, in 1645, the emperor visited the Lahore fort, inspecting a new palace that overlooked the river, and, as he did frequently, indicated changes to be made. Although this new palace is not further identified, it was probably the white marble structure today known as the Diwan-i Khass, or Private

[12] Lahauri in Nur Bakhsh, "The Agra Fort and its Buildings," *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1903–04* (Calcutta, 1906), 180.
[13] Nur Bakhsh, "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort," 221.

Audience Hall. Its interior consists of two concentric rectangular areas. This plan and the use of white marble, as we have seen at Ajmer, suggest that the building was intended for Shah Jahan's own use.

The fort's white marble mosque, known as the Moti or Pearl mosque, is probably the product of Shah Jahan's patronage, although it is not mentioned in any contemporary source. It is less elegant than his mosque at Ajmer, but the cusped arches that meet at acanthus leaf apexes, engaged baluster columns on the east facade, and white marble are all features associated with many of Shah Jahan's buildings. The smooth lines of the interior piers, coupled with the uniformity of the cusped arches, yield a formal crystallized appearance in keeping with the official image of Shah Jahan rendered in imperial chronicles, poetry and paintings.

Agra fort

Shah Jahan dismantled nearly all the structures that Akbar and Jahangir had built inside the Agra fort. He replaced them with white marble and stucco-covered buildings, all contained in walled quadrangles. With the exception of the mosque known today as the Moti mosque, which was not completed until 1653, Shah Jahan commenced his other structures in the Agra fort as early as 1628, his first regnal year, and completed them by the beginning of 1637, when he first used them for ceremonial purposes. As at Shah Jahan's other palaces, the buildings reserved solely for the emperor are made of white marble and overlook the river, while the others he built, for example the Moti mosque and the Public Audience Hall, are away from the waterfront.

Just as at the Lahore fort, so here in the first year of his accession Shah Jahan ordered a Chehil Sutun (Plate 109) to be placed inside the courtyard of the Public Audience Hall. This flat-roofed rectangular structure, today called a Diwan-i ʿAmm, is divided into three aisles of ten bays each. Faceted pillars support cusped arches with acanthus leaves in each apex. This is typical of those on much of Shah Jahan's architecture. Constructed of red sandstone, this pavilion is covered with a veneer of highly burnished plaster (*chuna*), giving it the appearance of white marble.

The east wall of the Audience Hall contains a raised rectangular chamber with three tri-lobed openings (Plate 110) that serves as a *jharoka* from which the emperor presented himself to those assembled in the Chehil Sutun. Unlike the nobles' area, covered with a burnished plaster veneer, this area reserved for the emperor is constructed of marble that in many places is richly inlaid with precious stones. The lower portion of the chamber's walls is carved with a row of baluster columns, that is, bulbous looking columns that appear to grow from a pot. This column type, first used in Mughal architecture during Shah Jahan's period, was inspired by European prints owned by the Mughal emperors; in these prints, kings and religious figures are flanked by this sort of

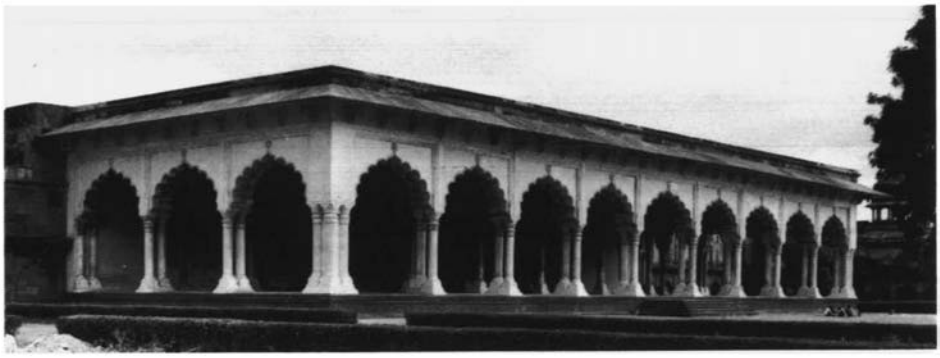

Plate 109. Exterior, Chehil Sutun, today known as the Diwan-i ᶜAmm or Public Audience Hall, Agra fort, Agra

column.[14] Since the Mughal baluster columns derive from illustrations in which they flank both royal and religious subjects, they were intended in Shah Jahan's architecture as a reference to his semi-divine nature.

Inside the hall silver balustrades were set up allowing the nobility to stand according to rank. Those who held a rank lower than 200 in the numerical hierarchy designating Mughal nobility stood not in the Chehil Sutun but in the red sandstone arched galleries that lined the perimeter of the huge quadrangle. A European visitor to the Mughal court relates that each noble was ordered to embellish one bay of this surrounding gallery at his own expense. Vying with one another for recognition, they covered the entire gallery with fine brocades and carpets, creating an opulent setting and a lasting memory of the Mughal emperor's power.[15] This, contemporary texts reveal, was the very goal of Shah Jahan, King of the World.

To the east of the Public Audience Hall is a quadrangle now called the Macchi Bhavan, for the storage of treasure. It contains a courtyard lined on three sides by two-storied arched galleries. The upper story's south projecting central bay (Plate 111) was designed as a throne niche whose appearance was enhanced by powerful imagery. It consists of four bulbous baluster columns supporting a rounded baldachin that, like the columns of the nearby Audience Hall, were intended to underscore Shah Jahan's semi-divine character.[16] Beside these structural baluster columns, the baldachin's carving is embellished with relief representations of baluster columns and a sun medallion at the top, thus continuing the long-standing Mughal fascination with sun and light imagery.

[14] Ebba Koch, "The Baluster Column – A European Motif in Mughal Architecture and its Meaning," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45, 1982, 251–62.

[15] François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, tr. A. Constable (2nd ed., London, 1914), pp. 269–70, describes Delhi, but similar decoration was favored at Agra.

[16] Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus*, pp. 14–15.

CHAPTER 6

AURANGZEB AND THE ISLAMIZATION OF THE MUGHAL STYLE

Shah Jahan's third surviving son and successor, Aurangzeb, is generally considered the last effective Mughal ruler. Under his successors the Mughal domain diminished. Even in Aurangzeb's reign, persistent warfare in the Deccan and increased factionalism among the nobility had an impact on the empire's stability. Most believe that a lack of vitality in artistic production paralleled this military and political instability. As a result, the architecture of Aurangzeb and the later Mughals has largely been ignored. It should not be.

All the same, under Aurangzeb and his successors the framework of earlier architectural patronage was changed. That is, under the earlier Mughals the emperor was the model patron. The nobility generally regarded the type of structures he built and the styles he favored as the ideal to emulate. Under Aurangzeb, and especially under his successors, that changed. There was no dynamic imperial patron, so the nobility and other classes built independently of strong central direction, often employing styles and motifs that still echoed those established in Shah Jahan's reign.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS DURING AURANGZEB'S REIGN

When Shah Jahan became ill in 1657, most believed that he would not survive. This sparked a war of succession among the imperial princes with Aurangzeb emerging as victor. He first celebrated his coronation in Delhi's Shalimar garden in 1658 and again the same year in the palace of Shahjahanabad, then adding to his name the title ʿAlamgir (World Seizer). Although Shah Jahan recovered and lived until 1666, he remained a prisoner in the Agra fort for the rest of his life. Aurangzeb's brothers, including the former heir apparent Dara Shukoh, were executed, murdered or, in the case of Shah Shujaʿ, pursued until death.

Until 1681, Aurangzeb maintained his residence in Delhi. Among his most pressing problems were on-going troubles with the rebel Maratha Shivaji which finally ended in victory for the Maratha. Shivaji's death in 1680 did not terminate the Maratha threat to Mughal authority, for his son Shambuji was no less a warrior than his father. It was in pursuit of him that Aurangzeb permanently left Delhi for the Deccan. The second half of Aurangzeb's reign was spent in the Deccan where Shambuji and his Maratha successors continued to plague Mughal forces until Aurangzeb's death in 1707. As a result north India

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received less imperial attention than previously, changing the nature of architectural patronage there.

By the end of Aurangzeb's fifty-year reign, the Mughal empire covered nearly the entire subcontinent. The only area not under Mughal control was the southernmost tip of India and a small area controlled by Afghans in the northwest. This is comparable to the situation at the end of Akbar's almost equally long reign, when the Mughal empire stretched into the Deccan. However, despite these seeming similarities, the differences were much deeper. Akbar bequeathed to his successors the foundations of a stable empire, unshakable until the early eighteenth century. By the time of Aurangzeb's death, the fabric of the empire had been weakened considerably by continuous warfare in the Deccan, by Sikh uprisings as well as by rebellion of the various houses of Rajasthan. Financially the empire was in dire straits. Aurangzeb also failed to maintain balance in the Mughal administrative system, most notably in the matters of rank (*mansabdari*) and landholdings. Factionalism among the nobility thus increased. Moreover, Aurangzeb's progressive inability to assimilate local elite chieftains (zamindars) into the Mughal government estranged yet another influential group. The alienation of these groups undermined a critical feature of the Mughal state. That is, Aurangzeb's predecessors had viewed themselves as fathers to their people and made their presence felt through close contact with the highest-ranking nobility, who, in turn, maintained close contact with lesser nobles, petty princes and local landholders. Aurangzeb failed to maintain this system effectively, thus essentially promoting factionalism and, by extension, rival patronage systems.

AURANGZEB'S PATRONAGE

Attitude toward Hindu construction

Condemned by some as a religious zealot and praised by others as an upholder of Islam, Aurangzeb and his religious policies are among the most misunderstood of all Mughal history. There is no doubt that Aurangzeb was a devout Sunni Muslim. Highly educated, he spent his leisure reading the Quran and in prayer. Aurangzeb's court also assumed an increasingly orthodox atmosphere. For example, the practice of *jharoka*, the daily presentation of the emperor to his subjects, was abandoned since it was derived from the Hindu notion of *darshan*. Court dancing girls and musicians were released, but only ostensibly for religious reasons. Aurangzeb did not have the resources to maintain them.

More controversial than the increasing austerity of the court and its ritual is Aurangzeb's attitude toward Hindu construction, especially temples. Common belief holds that he destroyed massive numbers of Hindu temples and banned the construction of new ones. True, he did not encourage the

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construction of new temples, continuing a policy already in practice under his father, Shah Jahan. But when Aurangzeb did destroy temples, he did so not out of bigotry but as a political response when his authority was challenged. For example, the Keshava Deva temple in Mathura, built by the Mughal amir Raja Bir Singh and supported by imperial grants, was destroyed to retaliate for seriously disruptive Jat uprisings in the Mathura area in 1669–70.[1] Mughal losses were heavy. ʿAbd al-Nabi Khan, the commandant of Mathura (*faujdar*) and the patron of that city's Jamiʿ mosque (Plate 177), was among the Mughals killed.[2] Temples in Cooch Behar were destroyed in 1661 after the local rajas there had defied Mughal authority.[3] Those Hindus who remained loyal were rewarded, indicating that temple destruction in Cooch Behar was politically motivated, not simply an aggressive act against Hindus. The demolition of temples as Udaipur, Jodhpur and other places in Rajasthan in 1679 and 1680, too, was a response to long-term recalcitrance on the part of the ranas there.[4] Similarly the destruction of Raja Man Singh's famous Vishvanath temple in Benares was largely to punish Hindus, especially those related to the temple's patron, who were suspected of supporting the Maratha Shivaji.[5] Many of these temples desecrated by Aurangzeb, including the largest and most notable among them, had been built by Mughal amirs. In each case, Aurangzeb reacted to the violation of a long-established allegiance system binding emperor and nobility by destroying property maintained previously with Mughal support. Thus in a sense Aurangzeb destroyed state-endowed property, not private works.

Some of Aurangzeb's alleged destruction is more legendary than real. He is commonly accused of destroying the caves at Ellora and other sites in modern Maharashtra, but these assertions are made in considerably later sources.[6] They are not mentioned in any contemporary Persian chronicle, where such destruction is generally reported in terms of glorious holy war (*jihad*). Rather, Aurangzeb's own writings praise the beauty of Ellora. Aurangzeb himself says the caves must be the work of Almighty God,[7] indicating that he had an aesthetic sensitivity that many assume he lacked, in fact, a sensitivity not

[1] For imperial grants supporting the temple, see Mukherjee and Habib, "Akbar and the Temples of Mathura," 424.

[2] Saqi Mustʿad Khan, *Maasir-i ʿAlamgiri*, tr, J. Sarkar (Calcutta, 1947), pp. 57–61. Henceforth cited as Saqi Mustʿad Khan.

[3] Khafi Khan, *Khafi Khan's History of ʿAlamgir*, tr. S. M. Haq (Karachi, 1975), pp. 154, 157.

[4] Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i ʿAlamgiri*, tr. T. Ahmad (Delhi, 1978), pp. 130, 157 note 7; Saqi Mustʿad Khan, p. 130; Khafi Khan, *History*, pp. 266–67.

[5] S. N. Sinha, *Subah of Allahabad under the Great Mughals* (New Delhi, 1974), pp. 65–68.

[6] For example Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, 5 vols. (Calcutta, 1925–30), III: 285, cites a late source and suggests that the failure to ruin other sites was due to the intervention of a deity or to poisonous snakes and insects.

[7] ʿInayat Allah Khan Kashmiri, *Kalimat-i Taiyibat*, ed. and tr. S. M. A. Husain (Delhi, 1982), p. 27 of English text and 13 of Persian text. Also, see Saqi Mustʿad Khan, p. 145.

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limited to Islamic patronized structures. Moreover, decrees (*farman*) testify that imperial support was provided for temples throughout Aurangzeb's reign.[8] These orders were issued either to protect the rights of Hindu subjects or to reward service rendered by Hindus.

Imperial mosques

Contemporary histories relate that Aurangzeb repaired numerous older mosques.[9] The frequent mention of his repair and construction of mosques suggests that this was the architectural enterprise he most highly valued. He reputedly repaired more mosques than any of his predecessors, not just Mughal mosques but also those built under the Tughluq, Lodi and Deccani sultans as well.[10] In other cases Aurangzeb was attentive to the maintenance of mosques.[11] Once he ordered a lamp for a mosque in an old outpost, and on another occasion he wrote to his prime minister (*wazir*) to express dismay that the carpets and other furnishings of the palace were in better condition than those of the palace's mosque.

After capturing Maratha forts, Aurangzeb often ordered the construction of a mosque. In part they were erected from religious fervor and in part they served as a symbol of Mughal conquest. These mosques were probably constructed quickly of locally available materials. Other mosques he built filled a genuine need. For example, in Bijapur city he built an ʿIdgah since there was no suitable one there.[12] In the Bijapur palace he added a mosque for his personal use. To gain special merit, the emperor even laid some of the stones himself.[13] Concerned that all remaining materials should not be used for impious purposes, Aurangzeb ordered them buried.[14]

Shortly after his accession, Aurangzeb ordered a small marble chapel, known today as the Moti or Pearl mosque, to be constructed inside the Shahjahanabad fort (Plate 160). Shah Jahan had built no mosque inside this fort, using instead the large Jamiʿ mosque for congregational prayers. Aurangzeb, however, wanted a mosque close to his private quarters. Five years under construction, his exquisite mosque was completed in 1662–63 at considerable personal expense. It is enclosed by red sandstone walls that vary in thickness to compensate for the mosque's angle, necessary to orient the building toward Mecca, and at the same time to align it with the other palace buildings. Entered on the

[8] Jnan Chandra, "Aurangzib and Hindu Temples," *Pakistan Historical Society*, 5, 1953, 249–54.
[9] Saqi Mustʿad Khan, p. 315.
[10] Khafi Khan, *History*, pp. 455–56, 465; and ʿAqil Khan Razi, *Waqiʿat-i ʿAlamgiri*, ed. Z. Hasan (Delhi, 1946), pp. 45–46.
[11] For the examples given, see Saqi Mustʿad Khan, p. 249, and Aurangzeb ʿAlamgir, *Rukaʿat-i-ʿAlamgiri*, tr. J. H. Bilimoria (1908; reprint ed. Delhi, 1972), p. 106.
[12] Saqi Mustʿad Khan, p. 243.
[13] Saqi Mustʿad Khan, p. 208. [14] Kashmiri, *Kalimat-i Taiyibat*, p. 47.

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Plate 160. Facade, Moti mosque, Shahjahanabad, Delhi

east, the compound consists of a courtyard with a recessed pool and the mosque building.

Although the mosque and its courtyard are small, about 9 by 15 meters internally, the high walls, over which nothing can be seen, emphasize the sense of compact verticality creating a sense of spatial tension, a characteristic of Aurangzeb's architecture. This is further underscored by the three bulbous domes on constricted necks, the central one rising above the others. These domes were originally gilt-covered copper that resembled gold, drawing attention to the height. They later were replaced with white marble domes, still in place.

Closely modeled on the Nagina mosque (Plate 114), the prayer chamber, entered through three cusped arches, is divided into two aisles of three bays each with an ancillary corridor on the north for use by the court ladies. The marble surfaces here and on the courtyard walls (Plate 161) are more ornately rendered than those on Shah Jahan's mosques (Plates 105, 114, 115 and 124). Here arabesque foliate forms – unique during this period to imperial palace mosques – cusped arches, and even architectural members are elegantly carved. They serve as a contrast to the much more sedate ornamentation of Shah Jahan's religious edifices. The immediate source of this ornate decor is surely

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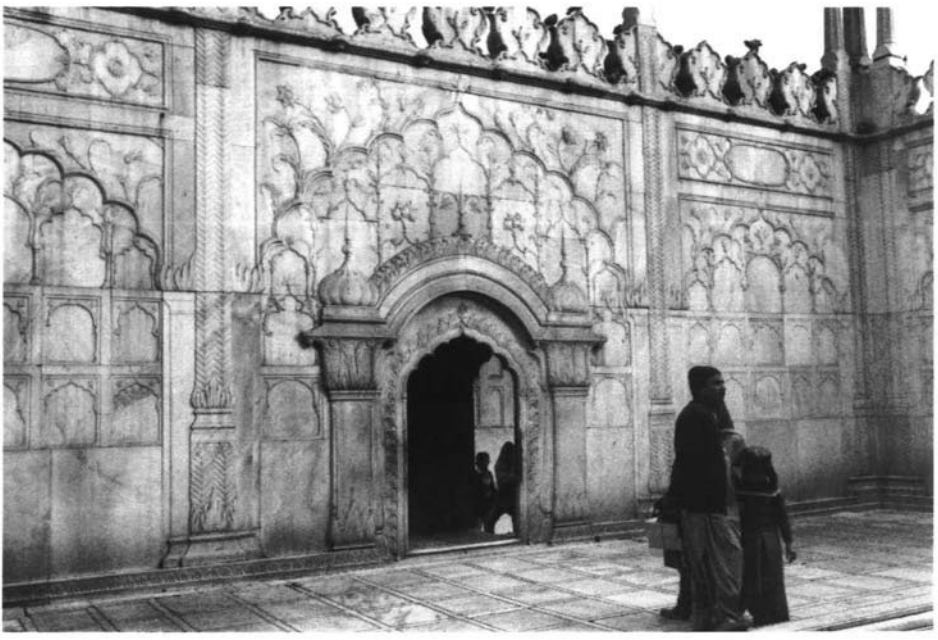

Plate 161. Courtyard walls, Moti mosque, Shahjahanabad, Delhi

the organic carving on Shah Jahan's later palace architecture, for example, the nearby throne of Shah Jahan's Public Audience Hall (Plate 119).

Aurangzeb's Badshahi mosque (Plate 162) also reveals an ornateness and emphasis on spatial tension seen in the Moti mosque, but on a much larger scale. Adjoining the Lahore fort, the Badshahi mosque remains the largest mosque in the subcontinent. An inscription over the east entrance gate indicates that it was built in 1673–74 by Aurangzeb under the supervision of Fidai Khan Koka, the emperor's foster brother. Prior to this time Lahore had no monumental mosque capable of serving the population. Aurangzeb's construction of this mosque follows Shah Jahan's provision of large mosques close to the Agra and Delhi forts.

Situated on a raised platform, the mosque is approached by high steps. The east entrance is a large vaulted gatehouse made of red Sikri sandstone. It opens to an enormous courtyard. Built to hold 60,000 persons, the mosque served an unusual dual function of ʿIdgah and Jamiʿ mosque. The prayer chamber adheres generally to the plan of Shah Jahan's Delhi mosque (Plate 124) constructed about two decades earlier, although it is considerably larger.

While closely modeled on Shah Jahan-period congregational mosques, the Badshahi mosque reveals a greater sense of spatial tension in keeping with the new aesthetic established early in Aurangzeb's reign. This is achieved, in part, by the sheer scale of the complex and by the facade's arched openings that are

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Plate 162. Badshahi mosque, Lahore

small in comparison to the building's overall massive size. Further underscoring this spatial tension are the bulbous domes and the minarets at the compound corners that emphasize the sense of verticality.

The ornamentation, like that on Aurangzeb's Moti mosque, is less chaste than on Shah Jahan's religious buildings. Here floral designs, cusped arches and cartouche motifs are outlined with white marble inlaid into the red surface. In lieu of the smooth flowing lines that characterized ornament on Shah Jahan's mosques, a series of short curved lines form the designs, thus creating a sense of ornateness that becomes characteristic of later Mughal design. The mosque's stucco interior relief, including baluster columns (Plate 163), is polychromed to achieve the effect of inlaid stone seen earlier in Shah Jahan's architecture.

Aurangzeb's mosques built in close association with palaces – primarily those dating to the time of his father, Shah Jahan – are considerably more ornate than the mosques of Shah Jahan's reign. Their decor, however, is inspired by Shah Jahan's palace architecture. Ornateness formerly reserved for palaces is now found in mosques which to Aurangzeb were the most significant architectural type. As palaces were less important to him, he curtailed some of the earlier court ritual; for example, in his eleventh regnal year he abolished the practice of *jharoka*. Significantly after this time, his most elaborate mosque, the Badshahi mosque, was built. For Aurangzeb, personal devotion and the ritual

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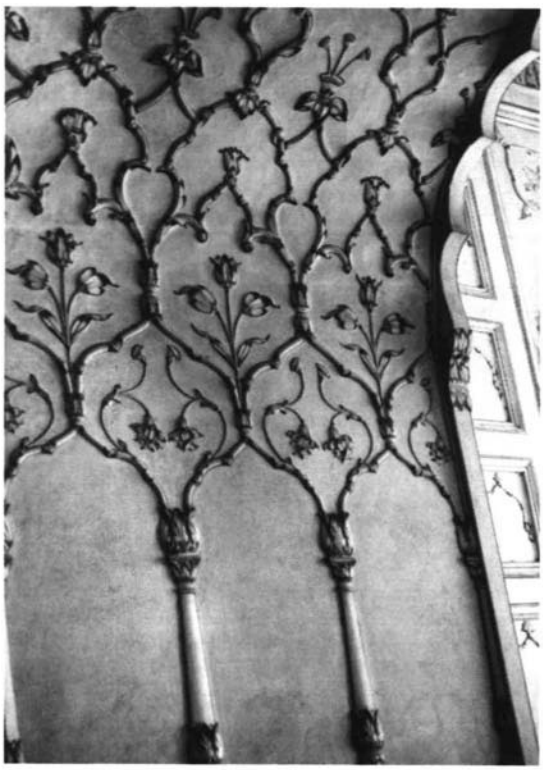

Plate 163. Detail of interior stucco, Badshahi mosque

of prayer were more meaningful than courtly ritual such as the viewing of the emperor at the *jharoka* that had developed to bolster the semi-divine character of earlier Mughal rulers. Thus, by extension, features formerly associated with royalty were now associated with piety and Islam. Most telling is the use of the baluster column and fulsome floral forms found earlier on the marble throne in the Shahjahanabad palace's Public Audience Hall, but now found in what Aurangzeb must have considered a strictly religious realm.

By contrast to the ornateness of Aurangzeb's palace mosques is the impressive red sandstone ᶜIdgah at Mathura (Plate 164), also certainly sponsored by Aurangzeb. This ᶜIdgah, a mosque for the annual ᶜId celebration, replaced the temple of Keshava Deva, destroyed in 1669–70 by Aurangzeb's command to avenge on-going insubordination by Jats. One chronicler notes that after the temple's destruction a large sum was spent on the construction of a mosque. The patron's name is not mentioned by the Mughal chronicler, but a European visiting Mathura within the decade states that it was built by Aurangzeb himself. The structure's size, 52 by 20 meters, as well as its appearance suggest imperial patronage. Situated high on a hill, the ᶜIdgah is built on

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the foundations of the destroyed temple. The facade is similar to that of the contemporary Badshahi mosque. For example, all the entrances are cusped, but they have no inlaid marble work. The mosque's double-aisled multi-bayed interior also bears little ornamentation; a large recessed tri-partite central mihrab is its most striking feature.

This mosque bears considerably less ornamentation than do the other two built by Aurangzeb, but they were associated with imperial palaces. The Mathura ᶜIdgah, however, was situated nowhere near a palace. Rather, it was built at Mathura, a city then of secondary importance, on top of a demolished temple, to remind rebel forces that non-Muslims would be tolerated only so long as Mughal authority was obeyed.

Tombs

Like his predecessors, Aurangzeb visited the *dargahs* of esteemed saints and contributed sizable sums for their maintenance, especially those of Gesu Daraz in Gulbarga, Muᶜin al-Din in Ajmer and Khwaja Qutb Sahib Bakhtiyar Kaki in Delhi. But unlike the earlier Mughal rulers, his attitude toward building at these shrines is ambiguous. At one point he comments that the erection of mausolea over graves is not in accordance with orthodox Islamic practice.[15] In fact, he provided no buildings at the Ajmer or Gulbarga shrines. Yet he did order renovation of Bakhtiyar Kaki's tomb in Delhi and had a drawing made of the shrine's layout. Although the *dargah* dates to the thirteenth century, active Mughal patronage of it commenced under Aurangzeb, when several princes were buried there.[16] The colored tiles with floral sprays inlaid into the west wall of the saint's tomb are probably Aurangzeb's contribution.

Toward the end of his life, Aurangzeb noted that visiting graves was not acceptable in orthodox Islam. Nevertheless, the location of his own tomb indicates that he personally never lost esteem for saints. For just before he died, Aurangzeb ordered the construction of his tomb at the *dargah* of Shaikh Burhan al-Din in Khuldabad, meaning the Abode of Eternity, not far from Aurangabad and the Ellora caves. This area long had been the burial site of esteemed saints as well as some Deccani and Mughal princes. The emperor's open-air grave, in accordance with his final wishes, was marked by a simple stone cenotaph, although in the early twentieth century it was faced with white marble. The top was filled with earth so plants might grow. Its original simplicity followed a form used earlier at Jahan Ara's tomb (Plate 167), one that in the eighteenth century became common.

[15] Kashmiri, *Kalimat-i Taiyibat*, pp. 38–39, 47.

[16] Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i ᶜAlamgiri*, p. 125. Y. D. Sharma, *Delhi and its Neighbourhood* (2nd ed., New Delhi, 1974), p. 63, states that the tiles were provided by Aurangzeb.

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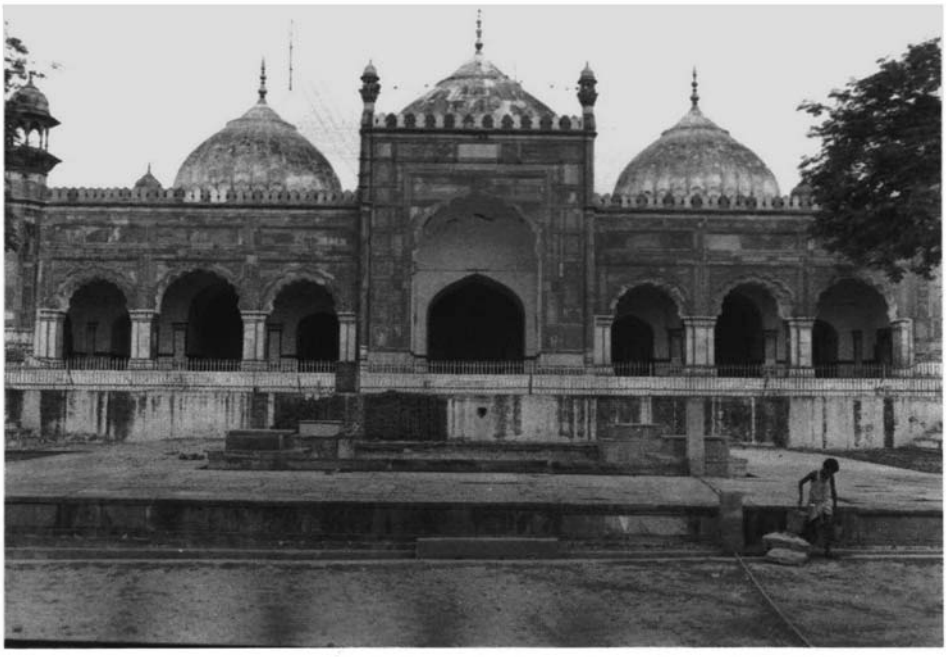

Plate 164. ʿIdgah, Mathura

Throughout his life Aurangzeb was concerned about the maintenance of royal tombs, foreshadowing the interest in his own. He protested bitterly when land containing the grave of one of his deceased daughters was purchased.[17] When a prince, Aurangzeb had written Shah Jahan regarding repairs that he felt were mandatory for the preservation of his mother's tomb, the Taj Mahal (Plate 131). After Shah Jahan's death, Aurangzeb ordered the governor of every province to send 2,000 rupees for the maintenance of this tomb.[18]

Fortification, palace and garden architecture

Despite his primary concern with religious building, Aurangzeb maintained a lifelong interest in secular structures. For example, he built and repaired serais, wells and bridges – structures all necessary for the welfare of the state. In addition, the construction of fortifications was well in keeping with this emperor's interests in territorial expansion. During the first few years of his reign, Aurangzeb constructed outer defensive gates before Shah Jahan's Lahore and Delhi gates of the Shahjahanabad palace. Reputedly the imprisoned Shah Jahan, upon hearing of this, wrote, "You have made the fort a bride and set a

[17] Kashmiri, *Kalimat-i Taiyibat*, p. 43. [18] Saqi Mustʿad Khan, p. 203.

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veil before her face."[19] These monumental gates, composed of red sandstone, obscured Shah Jahan's ceremonial entrances into the fort and their original direct alignment with the city's main bazaar, its canal and Jahan Ara's gardens. They did, however, lend military strength to the fort. Aurangzeb also ordered an outer defensive wall (*sher hajji*) erected around the Agra fort. It was built in three years under the supervision of Iʿtibar Khan. Later in his reign, Aurangzeb ordered forts constructed during the campaign against the Afghans, and in 1705 another was built in conjunction with the campaign against the Marathas. In various Deccani cities additional fortification was provided. In 1683 Ihtamam Khan was charged with building walls around the city of Aurangabad. These masonry walls today have virtually disappeared, but several of the original thirteen gates still exist. The Delhi gate (Plate 165), marked by a wide entrance arch and engaged polygonal turrets surmounted by a domed *chattri* on each side, follows an older regional form, not one characteristic of contemporary Mughal structures elsewhere in India.

Aurangzeb's concerns extended beyond the military security of a locale. In Delhi he banned any construction that did not have his prior approval and went so far as to dismantle a structure erected by a lady of the court without his permission.[20] Even after his permanent departure from Shahjahanabad, Aurangzeb ordered ʿAqil Khan, governor (*subadar*) of Delhi, to maintain its gardens, palaces and serais. The emperor ordered reports on their condition and had drawings of them prepared.[21] The rooms of the palace were cleaned, locked and the carpets stored to prevent damage.[22]

Once Aurangzeb had moved permanently to the Deccan he did not reside in older palaces of the Deccani sultans. He had new ones built, including the palace at Aurangabad. In addition, Aurangzeb repaired the residences of others. For example, in 1685 he ordered renovations to an earlier palace near Ahmadnagar. Aurangzeb, like his predecessors, clearly felt that palatial residences were a necessity for a king. He objected, however, to the misuse of palatial settings, stating that dissipated rulers spent inordinate time in the pleasures of a palace.[23]

Like his predecessors, Aurangzeb loved garden settings and rewarded gardeners for good work.[24] He built only a few, mostly when still a prince, including a garden and tank in the vicinity of Bijapur as well as one in Ujjain.[25] Aurangzeb, again like his predecessors, was taken by the beauty of Kashmir

[19] *List*, 1: 9.
[20] S. M. A. Husain's introduction to Kashmiri, *Kalimat-i Taiyibat*, p. 14.
[21] Aurangzeb, *Rukaʿat-i-ʿAlamgiri*, pp. 116–17.
[22] Saqi Mustʿad Khan, p. 233.
[23] Saqi Mustʿad Khan, pp. 157–58, and Khafi Khan, *History*, p. 141.
[24] Saqi Mustʿad Khan, p. 134.
[25] Saqi Mustʿad Khan, pp. 206–07, and Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i ʿAlamgiri*, p. 29.

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Plate 165. Delhi gate, Aurangabad

and its gardens, although he decreed in the sixth year of his reign that no king should visit there unless on military or administrative business; the pursuit of pleasure, he believed, was inadequate reason for going to Kashmir.[26]

PRINCELY PATRONAGE

During Aurangzeb's reign, most members of the imperial family were more devoted to the patronage of literature and religion than to the construction of grand edifices and gardens. However, several notable tombs and mosques were constructed by the royal family, including the Bibi-ka Maqbara, or Tomb of the Queen, built in Aurangabad (Plate 166). This monumental white tomb, completed in 1660–61, was built for Rabi'a Daurani, Aurangzeb's wife, also known as Dilrus Banu, who died in 1657. At Aurangzeb's command, their eldest son, Prince A'zam Shah, built this tomb closely modeled on the Taj Mahal (Plate 131).

Persian inscriptions on the tomb's south entrance gate give the names of the architect, 'Ata Allah, the supervisor, Aqa Abu al-Qasim Beg, and the engineer, Haspat Rai. Other contemporary documents indicate that the supervisor and others in responsible positions were at the site continuously during this time,

[26] Khafi Khan, *History*, p. 179.

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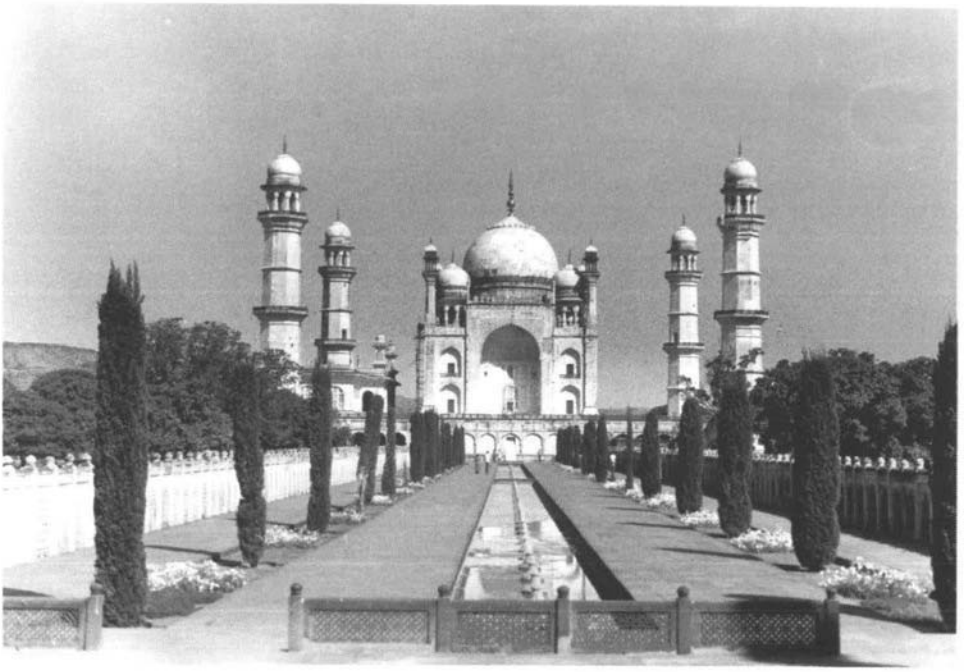

Plate 166. Tomb of Rabiᶜa Daurani, also known as the Bibi-ka Maqbara, Aurangabad

thus resulting in the tomb's completion within four years of the queen's death. The architect, ᶜAta Allah, was the son of Ustad Ahmad, architect of the Taj Mahal and Shahjahanabad fort. This does much to explain the tomb's close resemblance to the Taj.

Rabiᶜa Daurani's tomb is situated in the middle of a *char bagh*, typical of most imperial Mughal tombs (Plate 19). Approximately half the size of the Taj Mahal, this tomb is different in notable ways. At Rabiᶜa Daurani's tomb there is an emphasis on the building's verticality, not the harmonious balance of proportions as at the Taj. This rapid shift in spatial arrangement occurring shortly after Aurangzeb's accession triggers innovative directions for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century architecture.

While marble is the predominant building material for the Taj, burnished stucco covers the Bibi-ka Maqbara and its adjacent mosques. Only on the tomb's interior is marble used. Unlike the Taj, Rabiᶜa Daurani's tomb has no inlaid work. Instead, the tomb's ornate surfaces are carved with panels of intricate floral sprays. Although the mausoleum itself is not painted, rich polychrome decorates the elaborate net vaulting of the entrance gates.

The carving, polychrome and the emphasis on the tomb's verticality are characteristic of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century tombs and elaborate dwellings. By contrast the two mosques inside the tomb's compound bear

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Plate 167. Tomb of Jahan Ara, Shahjahanabad, Delhi

little elaborate ornament, recalling more the private mosques of Shah Jahan (Plates 105, 106, 114 and 115) than Aurangzeb's contemporary Moti mosque in the Shahjahanabad fort (Plates 160 and 161).

Rabi'a Daurani's tomb is the last imperial Mughal tomb built in the tradition of monumental covered mausolea set in a *char bagh*. Raushan Ara's structural tomb had been built in Shah Jahan's time with an opening in the roof exposing the cenotaph to the elements. The taste for simple graves uncovered by any superstructure, hence in accordance with orthodox practice, increases throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Aurangzeb's own grave was of this type. So was the one built by Shah Jahan's devoted daughter, Jahan Ara, for many years the most powerful woman in the empire. She is buried in Delhi at Nizam al-Din's *dargah*, not far from the tomb of the esteemed saint. Enclosed by beautifully carved marble screens, her white marble cenotaph serves as a planter (Plate 167). It is marked by a marble slab carved with a verse demonstrating her humble piety and devotion to the Chishti saints.[27] Forgiven

[27] Hasan, *Nizamu-d Din*, p. 16.

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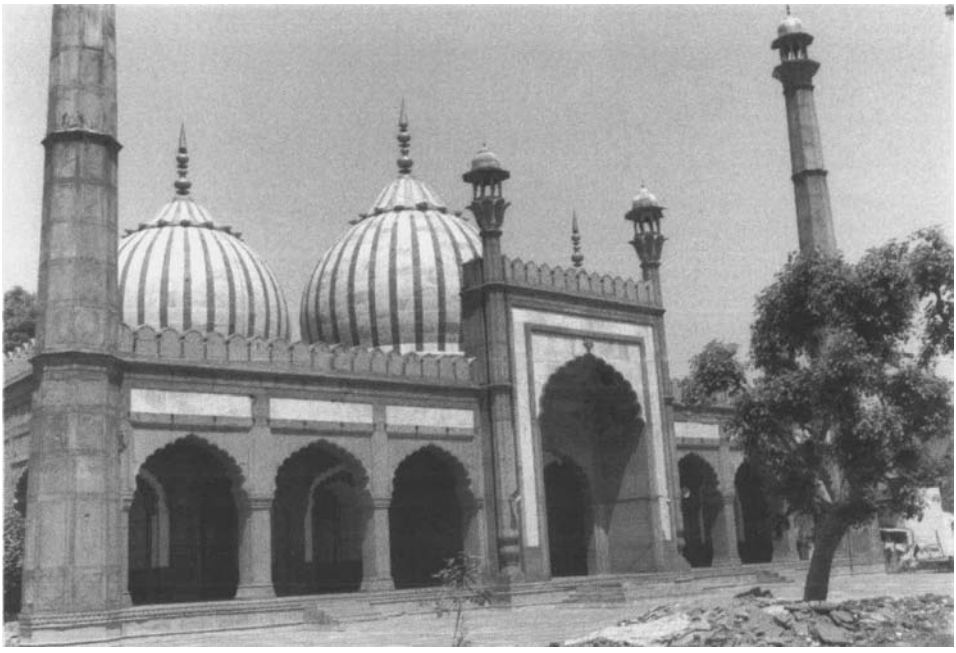

Plate 168. Mosque of Zinat al-Nisa, Delhi

by Aurangzeb after Shah Jahan's death, Jahan Ara regained her position as a significant cultural force. She lived the rest of her life in Delhi writing a biography of Muᶜin al-Din Chishti and died in 1681.

Simple graves and cenotaphs now mark the burial sites of imperial princesses. Among them was Zeb al-Nisa, who died in 1702, the oldest of Aurangzeb's children and a beneficent patron of poetry and literature, and Zinat al-Nisa, Aurangzeb's second daughter, who was noted for her piety and charity. Each was buried in separate grave sites near or in Shahjahanabad. Their tombs, each destroyed, had simple graves marked by a cenotaph and headstone carved with Quranic verses similar to those at Jahan Ara's grave.

In conjunction with her simple tomb, dated 1711–12, Zinat al-Nisa constructed a large mosque in Shahjahanabad (Plate 168). Located due south of the palace and overlooking the Jumna river, it was built on a high plinth. The location and size of this mosque, along with those constructed by earlier ladies of the court (cf. Plate 116), underscore the status of the patron. The mosque's red and white striped domes and high central *pishtaq*, among other features, are modeled closely on Shah Jahan's Jamiᶜ mosque (Plate 124). Typical of Aurangzeb's architecture, however, are the tightly constricted necks of the domes and cusped entrance arches supported on slender piers, emphasizing the structure's height.

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Plate 169. Tomb of Shaikh ᶜAla al-Din, known today as the Sola Khamba, Ajmer

PATRONAGE OF THE NOBILITY

Western India

Ajmer and vicinity

Aurangzeb paid homage on several occasions at the *dargah* of Muᶜin al-Din Chishti and continued his predecessors' practice of generously distributing alms there, but added no structures to the shrine. One, however, was built there during his reign. Shaikh ᶜAla al-Din, who until his death was in charge of the shrine, built his tomb in 1659–60 just outside the shrine on its west. Known as the Sola Khamba (Plate 169), this rectangular marble building derives its name from the sixteen columns that support cusped entrance arches. Its three mihrabs are closely modeled on the central one of Shah Jahan's marble mosque immediately to the tomb's east (Plate 106), again underscoring the impact of this mosque on the subsequent architecture of Ajmer. The Sola Khamba, however, introduces cusping, not seen on Shah Jahan's public architecture in Ajmer. This and the increasing number of columns supporting these cusped arches reveal an elaboration of form common to Aurangzeb-period works.

Another structure bearing the impact of Shah Jahan's Jamiᶜ mosque is one provided in 1692–93 close to the *dargah* by Sayyid Muhammad, an attendant (*mutawali*) at the saint's tomb. Unlike the Shah Jahan-period mosques on the

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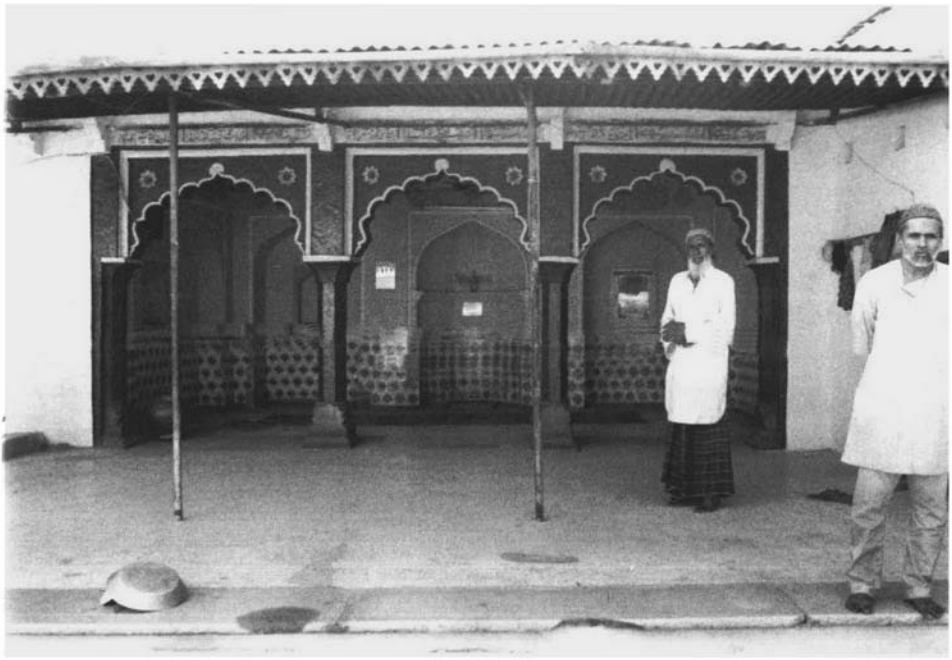

Plate 170. Mosque of Sayyid Muhammad, Ajmer

same street, this small single-aisled mosque (Plate 170) is not on ground level, but located above the shops, following contemporary practice in Delhi, suggesting the scarcity of open land. It bears several inscriptions, including a lengthy Persian one inlaid with black stones into a white marble ground. This elegant inscription, designed by Naji, a well-known poet and calligrapher of Aurangzeb's time, is similar in appearance, location and design to the one on Shah Jahan's mosque at the shrine (Plate 105). The mosque itself is a simple yet elegant structure whose facade consists of three cusped arches supported on polygonal columns, a form typical of Aurangzeb-period architecture in Ajmer.

Ranking in quality with imperial works is an exquisite white marble tomb believed to be that of the wife of ᶜAbd Allah Khan (Plate 171). He was the father of the famous Sayyid brothers, who after Aurangzeb's reign were known as the king-makers. Her tomb is modeled closely on those built for imperial princesses, for example, the tomb of Jahan Ara (Plate 167). Like that tomb its cenotaph, surmounted by finely carved screens, is left open to the air. Today it bears no inscription, but a plaque dated 1702–03, now embedded in the wall of ᶜAbd Allah's nearby tomb, refers to the death of a lady and probably once belonged to the white marble tomb. Other inscriptions indicate that a mosque and garden were built in conjunction with the tomb between 1702 and 1704. Later in 1710 ᶜAbd Allah's tomb in the same compound was built by his sons.

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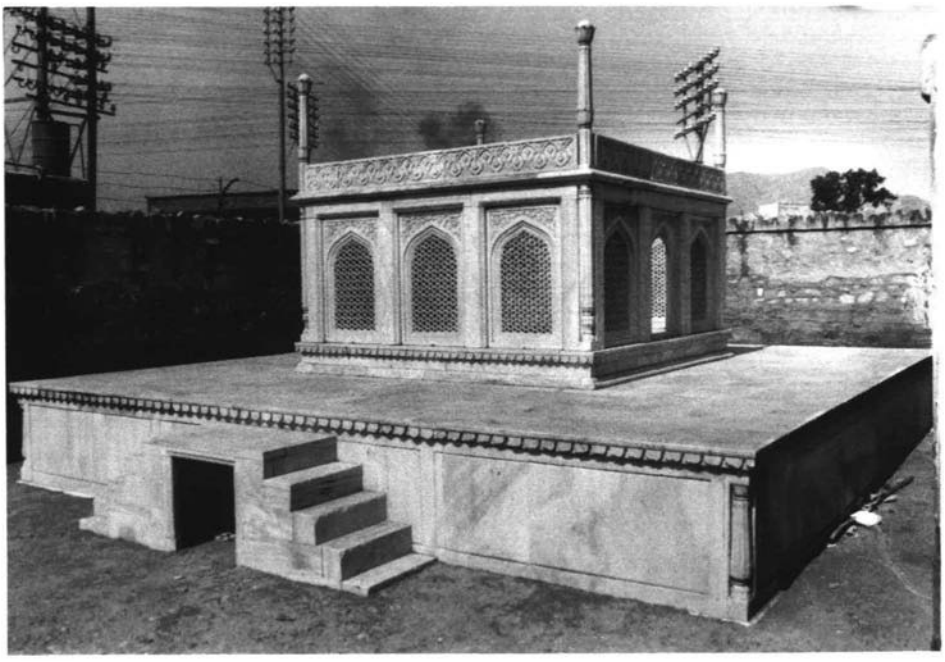

Plate 171. ᶜAbd Allah Khan's wife's tomb, Ajmer

Even structures outside of Ajmer reveal an awareness of current Mughal idiom. Among these is the Jamiᶜ mosque in Merta, about 100 km north of Ajmer (Plate 172). It was built by Hajji Muhammad Sultan, the son of a local religious official, in 1665.[28] The mosque, constructed in local red stone, is situated on a high plinth above shops. Very tall minarets, visible from a considerable distance, advertise its presence as do its three bulbous domes. The central one has a tightly constricted neck and is faced with alternating red and white stripes like those on Shah Jahan's Jamiᶜ mosque in Shahjahanabad built about a decade earlier (Plate 124). The overall effect is an emphasis on verticality and a clear sense of spatial tension such as we see a few years earlier at the Bibi-ka Maqbara at Aurangabad and the Jamiᶜ mosque in Mathura, both products of 1660–61 (Plates 166 and 177).

Ahmadabad

Aurangzeb, who was born in Ahmadabad, ordered repairs to both Mughal and pre-Mughal buildings there, revealing his interest in the maintenance of older structures, especially mosques. New buildings were constructed on behalf of the Mughal administration by Muhammad Aᶜzam Shah, a governor of Gujarat.

[28] The mosque bears two inscriptions, but the earlier one seems to refer to a mosque that no longer remains.

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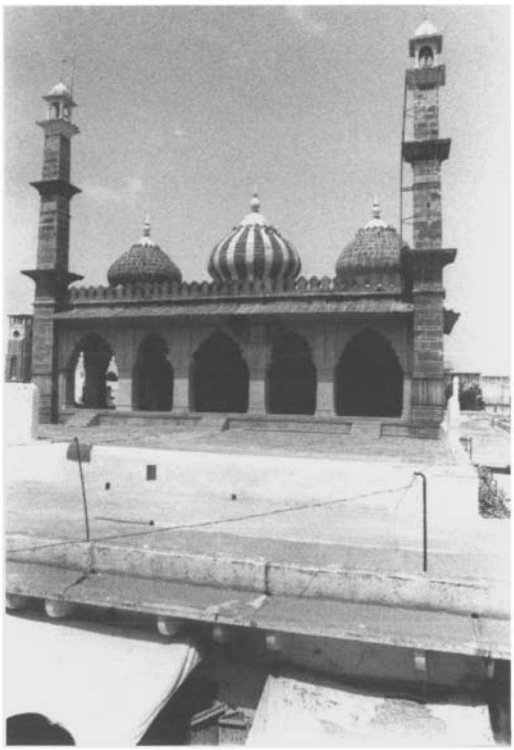

Plate 172. Jamiᶜ mosque, Merta

He erected palace buildings on the Sabarmati river, but no trace of them remains. Also at this time Mughal governors, amirs and religious officials erected religious structures to enhance Mughal presence and at the same time to immortalize their own names. Among these are the mosque and tomb of Sardar Khan, a noble who had gained Aurangzeb's favor during the war of succession, when he prevented Dara Shukoh from entering Ahmadabad. Sardar Khan's tomb (Plate 173) and its adjacent mosque bear features typical of contemporary Mughal architecture, for example, bulbous domes with constricted necks (Plate 168). The mosque's plan, a single-aisled three-bayed form, is common in contemporary Mughal architecture elsewhere but not typical of architecture in Gujarat. The mosque and tomb, however, also display many local features, especially the tomb's screened walls that are modeled on those of the more famous tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu at nearby Sarkhej. The tomb, based largely on local tradition, is domed, unlike the characteristic royal tombs of Aurangzeb's time. Other notable monuments of this time, for example the Hadayat Bakhsh madrasa (1690–1700) and the mosque, madrasa and tomb of Nawab Shujaᶜat Khan (1695), also combine local idiom with standard Mughal vocabulary. Thus in Gujarat throughout the Mughal period most buildings,

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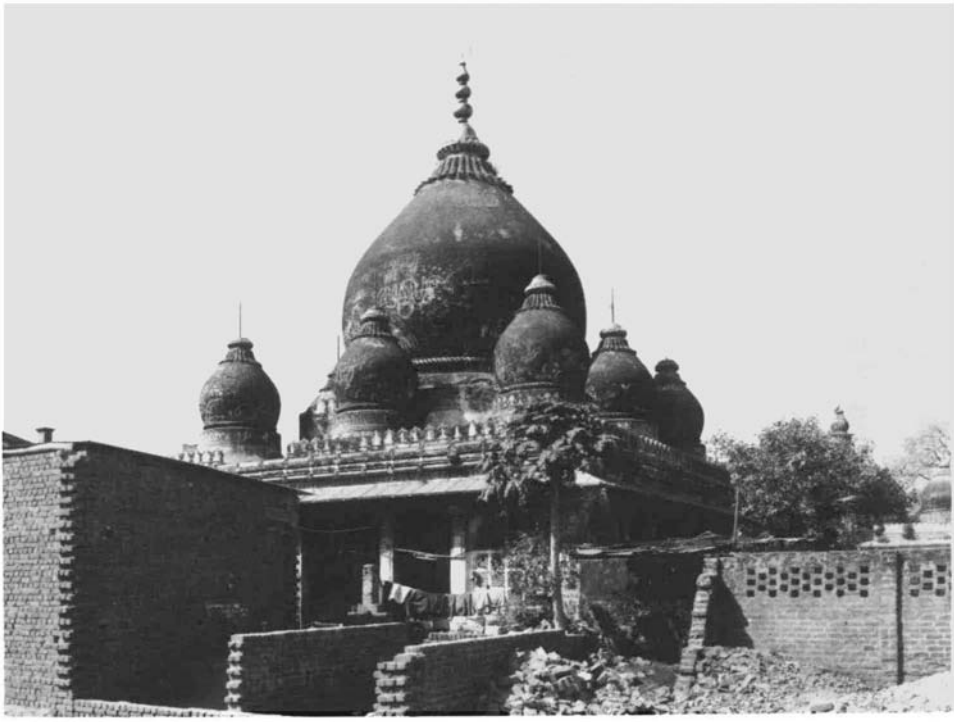

Plate 173. Sardar Khan's tomb, Ahmadabad

except those built by princes and the highest-ranking amirs, appear to be products of local designers.

North India

Lahore to Delhi

Although Aurangzeb built his largest mosque in Lahore, he rarely visited the city. In fact, the Frenchman Bernier reported that Lahore was rapidly decaying, probably because the city lacked an imperial presence and had been ravaged by floods. All the same, high-ranking officials and their families continued to reside in Lahore and to embellish the former Mughal capital. The most notable structure at this time is the tomb of Dai Anga, dated 1671–72. She was a wet-nurse who served in the imperial court and hence a woman of considerable stature. In keeping with local techniques, her brick tomb was originally covered with tiles, but only a few now remain. The tomb is modeled on those seen widely across the subcontinent. The square single-storied structure surmounted by a single dome and *chattris* at each corner is closely related to tombs such as that of Shah Niᶜmat Allah at Gaur built during Shah Jahan's

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reign. The tomb's interior arrangement, with a central chamber surrounded by eight smaller ones, is also found throughout the subcontinent at this time. The interior dome (Plate 174), like that of Wazir Khan's nearby mosque, is magnificently polychromed. The tomb is thus a regional version of a general type popular throughout Mughal India.

During the time that Aurangzeb resided in Shahjahanabad, revenue from Kashmir soared, and new serais were needed to support the increased trade.[29] Among these a serai on the road between Lahore and Delhi in Ludhiana District was built in 1669–70 by Lashkar Khan, a general in the military. This serai, known as Serai Lashkar Khan, is a square enclosure entered through massive gates similar to those of Serai Amanat Khan but even larger than the gates of that earlier one. This serai is brick constructed, but devoid of the usual tile ornamentation. Also serving the needs of travelers on this route were deep step-wells (*baolis*). Shortly after Aurangzeb's accession one was excavated at Mahem in Rohtak District. It was built by Saidu, a mace-bearer in the imperial court. Three stages of steps descend to this extremely deep well. On the second level an arched opening overlooks the circular well beyond and serves as a pavilion to catch cooling breezes.

In the foothills north of Delhi, Fidai Khan Koka, the supervisor of the Badshahi mosque in Lahore, built a terraced garden at Pinjaur around a natural spring. Although the exact date of this summer retreat is not known, its pavilions with cusped arches supported on baluster columns, reserved in Shah Jahan's reign solely for buildings intended for the emperor and his immediate family, suggest that the garden was built in Aurangzeb's time. By now such strictures had loosened (Plate 178), probably because Aurangzeb had little desire to associate himself with symbols suggesting a semi-divine status.

Delhi to Mathura

Delhi remained a leading center of culture and learning even after 1681, when Aurangzeb permanently shifted the empire's administration to the Deccan. In Delhi Jahan Ara presided as a patron of sufic learning, and the princess Zeb al-Nisa provided generous patronage for literary figures, theologians, calligraphers and others. ʿAqil Khan, the governor of Delhi from 1680 to 1696, was a poet and historian, instrumental in maintaining Delhi as a vital cultural center. Delhi's small but wealthy leisure class not only patronized poets and other cultural figures but also built gardens, markets, mosques and magnificent mansions. Among these works was a large caravan serai known as Bakhtawar Nagar, built in 1662 by Bakhtawar Khan outside the city walls.

[29] According to Neera Darabari, *Northern India under Aurangzeb: Social and Economic Condition* (Meerut, 1982), p. 296, the revenue from Kashmir increased greatly during Aurangzeb's reign.

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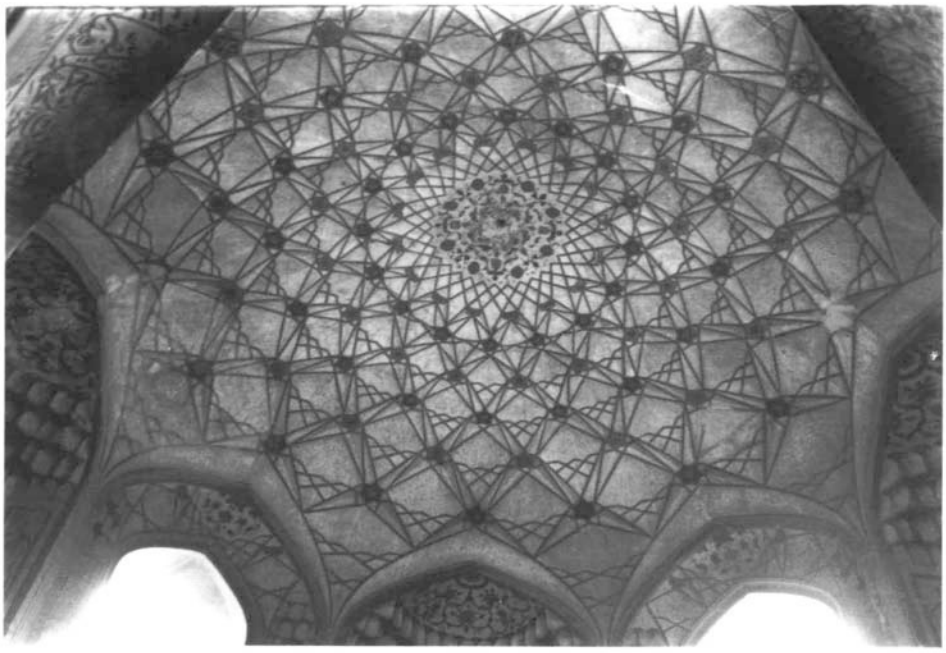

Plate 174. Interior dome, tomb of Dai Anga, Lahore

Although Delhi suffered three major fires in 1662, it was mostly the poor, living in crowded conditions, who were affected, while the spacious mansions of the wealthy, modeled on the imperial residence, survived well. New mansions were built during Aurangzeb's reign, while those erected earlier under Shah Jahan also continued to be used, but not necessarily by the same family. Once a noble died his house became state property and was bestowed upon the next inhabitant by the ruler himself. For example, after the leading noble ʿAli Mardan Khan died, Aurangzeb awarded his mansion to Jahan Ara.

There was little architectural activity far south of the walled city. True, doors were donated at the tomb of Amir Khusrau in the *dargah* of Nizam al-Din Auliya during Aurangzeb's reign. But most building was concentrated close to the western part of the walled city, in proximity to its Lahore and Ajmer gates. The mosque and tomb of Nasir Daulat, built in 1658 but no longer surviving, were just outside the city's now-demolished Lahore gate. Inside the city walls, between the Lahore and Ajmer gates, the Anarwali mosque was built by a pious lady. This mosque as well as the mosque of Khalil, just inside the Ajmer gate, still stand although they have been considerably remodeled. The mosque of Khalil, dated 1698–99, is a single-aisled three-domed structure situated on a high elevated plinth with shops beneath. Small mosques such as this, built

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Plate 175. Gate from southwest, madrasa of Ghazi al-Din, today Zakir Husain College, Delhi

above shops and towering over the street below, become typical of much mosque architecture from Aurangzeb's period on.

Just outside the city walls other buildings were erected. The *dargah* of Hasan Rasul Nama was established in 1691, some ten years after Aurangzeb had departed from Delhi. A gateway and other additions were made in 1671 at the Tughluq-period Qadam Sharif shrine. This construction, clustered to the city's west and away from the river, was probably on newly developed land, since no earlier Mughal structures were there.

Among these buildings the complex containing the tomb, mosque and madrasa of Ghazi al-Din, immediately beyond the Ajmer gate, is the largest and best preserved. Such a large edifice on this major thoroughfare underscores the notion that this portion of the city had been undeveloped. The school, today housing Zakir Husain College, has been one of Delhi's leading educational institutions since its establishment and is the oldest continuing school in the city. The patron, Mir Shihab al-Din, came to India from Bukhara in 1674. In 1683 he received the title Ghazi al-Din Khan Bahadur for his successful campaigns in the Deccan. Sometime after this date and before his death in 1709 he built his complex in Delhi.

The school is a quadrangular building apparently influenced by traditional Iranian four-*aiwan* structures, reflecting the patron's Bukhara origins. The

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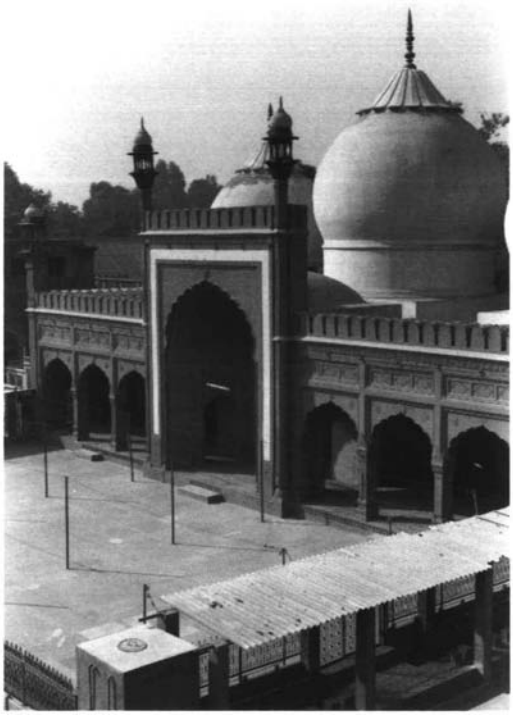

Plate 176. Mosque in madrasa of Ghazi al-Din, Delhi

main gate is a massive red sandstone portal, leading to a courtyard on three sides of which are double-storied galleries whose vaulted chambers serve as living quarters. On the east are projecting oriel windows surmounted by curved sloping roofs (Plate 175) inspired by the *bangala* style superstructures of Shah Jahan's palace architecture (Plate 113). The mosque (Plate 176), on the west, is not an extension of the wall, as is usual in Iranian madrasas, but is free-standing. It resembles Zinat al-Nisa's mosque on the river bank built about the same time (Plate 168). The emphasis on verticality is apparent here as well, and devices similar to those at Zinat al-Nisa's mosque are used to achieve this effect. Its three bulbous domes, originally faced with strips of red and black stone, sit on very high constricted necks.

Ghazi al-Din's simple grave, adjacent to the mosque, is enclosed by marble screened walls but has no superstructure to protect it from the elements. This is similar to the type established for the royal family during this period.

The royal court rarely was in Agra, for until 1666 its fort served as Shah Jahan's prison. Thus there was little notable construction here during Aurangzeb's reign. But in nearby Mathura a Jamiᶜ mosque (Plate 177) of some

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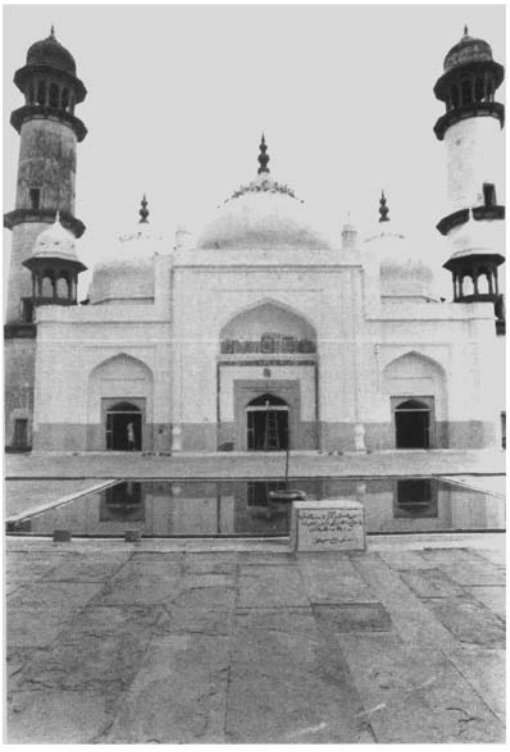

Plate 177. Jamiᶜ mosque, Mathura

significance was constructed in 1660–61 by ᶜAbd al-Nabi Khan, the *faujdar* of the city who later was killed during Jat uprisings. It was in part his death that prompted Aurangzeb to demolish the huge Hindu temple there and to erect in its place the ᶜIdgah discussed earlier (Plate 164).

The Jamiᶜ mosque, the earliest notable non-imperial mosque of Aurangzeb's reign, is situated on a high plinth in the center of the city. It echoes the verticality and spatial arrangements seen in the contemporary Bibi-ka Maqbara, built by one of Aurangzeb's sons. The mosque's high plinth, tile-covered gateway and towering minarets appear to diminish the small prayer chamber, thus emphasizing the structure's vertical nature in conformity with the imperial style of the time. The courtyard's rectangular pavilions surmounted by *bangala* roofs (Plate 178) also adhere to forms seen in imperial architecture of the period. During Shah Jahan's reign such pavilions had been associated with imperial presence, but very early in Aurangzeb's reign they lost this meaning and are often found on structures built by non-imperial patrons. The rapid adoption of motifs formerly restricted to imperial use appears to be related to Aurangzeb's relative disinterest in forms that originally had been associated

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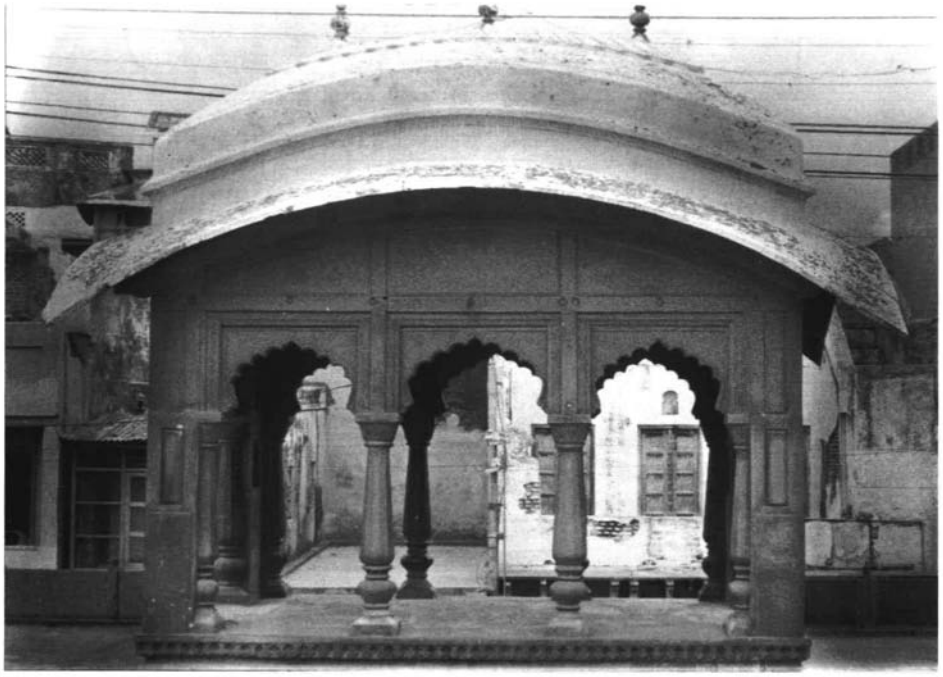

Plate 178. Pavilion on courtyard, Jamiᶜ mosque, Mathura

solely with royalty. It thus appears that there was little centralized direction for artists and patrons, allowing them greater freedom in the use of forms previously charged with exclusive meaning.

The *bangala* roof is also seen early in Aurangzeb's reign on the entrance portal of another sub-imperial mosque. This impressive stone Jamiᶜ mosque (Plate 179) was provided in 1664–65 by Muᶜtamad Khan, commander (*qalᶜadar*) of the Gwalior fort. Located at the fort's base, the stone-faced mosque recalls the plan and elevation of the slightly earlier Jamiᶜ mosque at Mathura (Plate 177), but not its ornamentation. Although mentioned in no contemporary text, the inscription over the prayer chamber indicates that Muᶜtamad Khan destroyed a temple associated with the Hindu sage for whom Gwalior was named and in its place constructed the mosque. Inscriptions of this nature during the Mughal period are not common but a few similar ones can be cited: there is one on the Patthar-ki Masjid in Patna. In both cases, however, the destruction stems from no recorded imperial order.

Benares

Tradition still perpetuated in Benares blames Aurangzeb for destroying many of that city's temples, even though imperial documents indicate that he long had been concerned with maintaining harmony between the Hindu and

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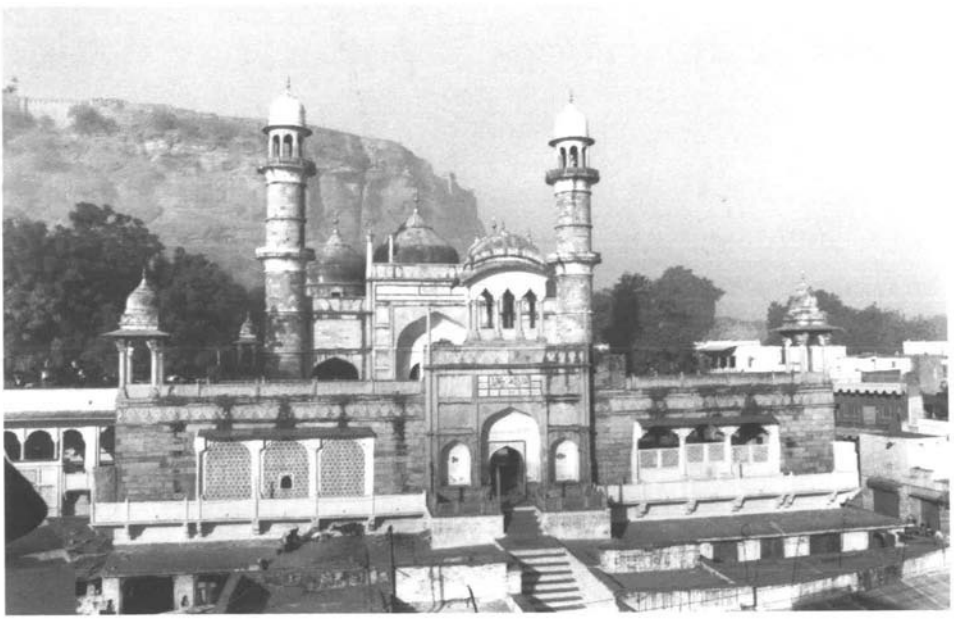

Plate 179. Jamiᶜ mosque, Gwalior

Muslim communities there. In fact, there is evidence only for his demolition in 1669 of the Vishvanath temple, built almost certainly by Raja Man Singh during Akbar's reign. Aurangzeb's demolition of the temple was motivated by specific events, not bigotry. One was the rebellion of zamindars in Benares, some of whom may have assisted Maratha Shivaji in his escape from Mughal authorities. It widely was believed that his escape initially had been facilitated in Agra a few years earlier by Jai Singh, Raja Man Singh's great-grandson, thus explaining the destruction of this particular temple. Another was reaction to recent reports of obstructive Brahmins interfering with Islamic teaching. The demolition of the Vishvanath temple, then, was intended as a warning to anti-Mughal factions, in this case troublesome zamindars and Hindu religious leaders who wielded great influence in this city. Moreover, the temple had been built by a Mughal amir, some of whose successors recently had abetted the emperor's most persistent enemy.

The ruined temple then was used as the qibla wall of the large mosque constructed in its place, underscoring Aurangzeb's displeasure with Benares' politically and religiously active Hindu elite. Today this mosque (Plate 180), whose facade is modeled partially on the entrance into the Taj Mahal, is known as the Gyanvapi mosque. The name of the patron is not known and its construction is cited in no Mughal text.

Tradition holds that another mosque of Aurangzeb's reign was constructed

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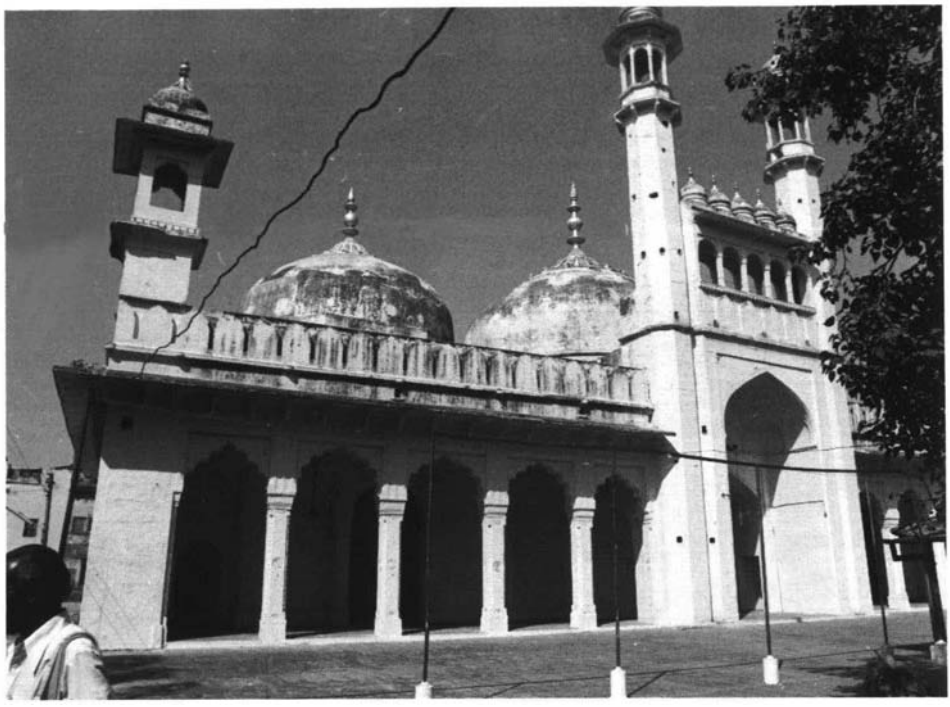

Plate 180. Partial facade, Gyanvapi mosque, Benares

on the site of a destroyed temple, although no evidence supports this. Today known as the Jamiᶜ or Aurangzeb's mosque (Plate 181), it dominates the famous Benares riverfront. Located at the top of the very steep steps leading to Panchganga Ghat, the mosque was even more visible and clearly symbolized a powerful Muslim presence in this holiest of all Hindu cities when its very tall minarets still stood. Inscriptions of later date record repairs to the mosque, but none reveals its original construction date or patron. Yet it is characteristic of Aurangzeb-period architecture. The proportionately tall height of this three-domed mosque and its now-missing minarets emphasized the structure's verticality. Unusually refined, the stone-faced mosque is a single-aisled three-bayed type usually associated with private, not imperial, patronage. Its brown stone facing is delicately carved with niches and arches. The finely rendered stucco, stone and polychrome work suggest a patron of fine taste and great wealth.

Eastern India

Bihar

The flourishing trade of Bihar and the relatively calm political climate made conditions here ripe for building activity. For example, Daᶜud Khan Quraishi,

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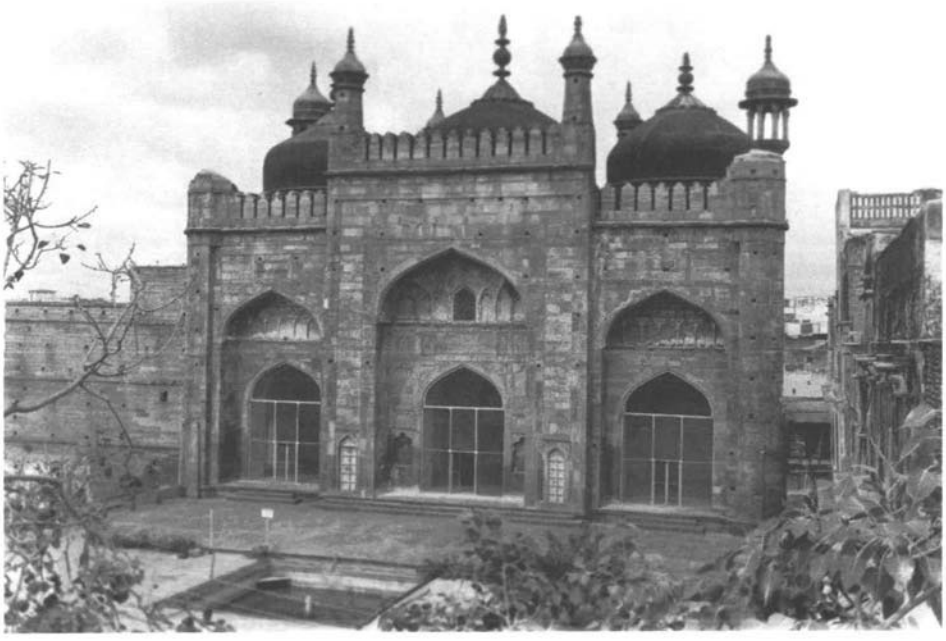

Plate 181. Jamiᶜ mosque, also known as Aurangzeb's mosque, Benares

governor of Bihar from 1659 to 1664, provided structures himself and by example encouraged others to do so as well. He ended the last significant source of on-going opposition to Mughal authority in Bihar by conquering Palamau, inhabited by Chero rajas. Inside the Cheros' seventeenth-century fort, whose elegant gates had been built during Shah Jahan's reign, Daᶜud Khan constructed a brick mosque in 1660. A single-aisled three-bayed structure surmounted by three low rounded domes, this mosque lacks the sophistication of the fort itself and other contemporary projects, possibly a result of its hasty construction. Nevertheless, it served as a powerful indicator of Mughal presence in this newly conquered territory.

Daᶜud Khan's serai (Plate 182), in contrast to his Palamau mosque, is finely built. He constructed it with the emperor's permission for the protection of travelers in a robber infested area. This brick serai is in the town still called Daudnagar (Aurangabad District). It remains today the best-preserved example of seventeenth-century secular architecture in Bihar. The serai is entered on the east and west sides by arched portals with chamfered sides, recalling earlier Mughal portals at the Ajmer fort built around 1570. Details, however, such as the stone pillars and cusped arches recalling those on the Sangi Dalan built about a decade earlier in Rajmahal have a more contemporary air. So do the small domed *chattris* atop the portal roof that probably derive from those on the gateway into the Taj Mahal complex.

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Plate 182. Entrance, Daʿud Khan's serai, Daudnagar

A second example of secular architecture was built in Bihar Sharif for Shaikha, a member of the Afghan Ghakkar tribe, many of whom had lived in Bihar since the early sixteenth century. Called the Nauratan (Plate 183), it was built in 1688–89. The main building in the Nauratan compound is a single-storied flat-roofed square-plan structure. The interior arrangement, however, is familiar throughout Mughal India (Plate 74). That is, a central domed chamber is surrounded by eight ancillary vaulted rooms, a total of nine chambers, the source of the building's name, Nauratan, or nine jewels. Beside this building, others in the compound include a tank with underground chambers, a mosque and domestic quarters, some of which are still extant. The building, today a school, provides a rare view of the predilections of the upper class in the late seventeenth century.

Throughout Aurangzeb's reign, buildings were constructed in Patna, the capital of Bihar. Only one of them, however, is credited, at least by its inscription, to Aurangzeb himself. That is the Rauza mosque dated 1667–68. It is, in fact, the only Mughal building in all Bihar that claims imperial Mughal sponsorship. This simple single-aisled three-bayed mosque was built in conjunction with the graves of two saints. It adheres closely to the form established by the early seventeenth-century mosque of Mirza Maʿsum. In spite of the brief inscription, the Rauza mosque's unpretentious style and plan suggest that it

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Plate 183. Nauratan, Bihar Sharif

was built in response to a general order encouraging the construction of mosques, but was not actually paid for by the ruler. Aurangzeb was never in Patna, nor did he construct mosques at sites with which he did not have a strong personal interest.

Unlike the simple Rauza mosque, one constructed nearly twenty years later by Khwaja ᶜAmber, in the service of the empire's highest-ranking noble, Shaista Khan, features the most elaborate stucco work on any Patna structure of this time. However, the decor of this mosque, dated 1688–89, is considerably more subdued than contemporary ornament elsewhere. Here only the interior of the domes is intricately embellished (Plate 184), recalling similar designs on the Benares Jamiᶜ mosque or the Bibi-ka Maqbara in Aurangabad built at the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign. This contrasts with the more characteristically austere architecture of Mughal Bihar, generally unembellished by contrast with contemporary architecture in the Mughal Bengal capitals of Dhaka or Rajmahal.

Bengal

Although most of Bengal had been under Mughal rule since Jahangir's time, Assam, Cooch Behar and Chittagong lay outside the grasp of Mughal

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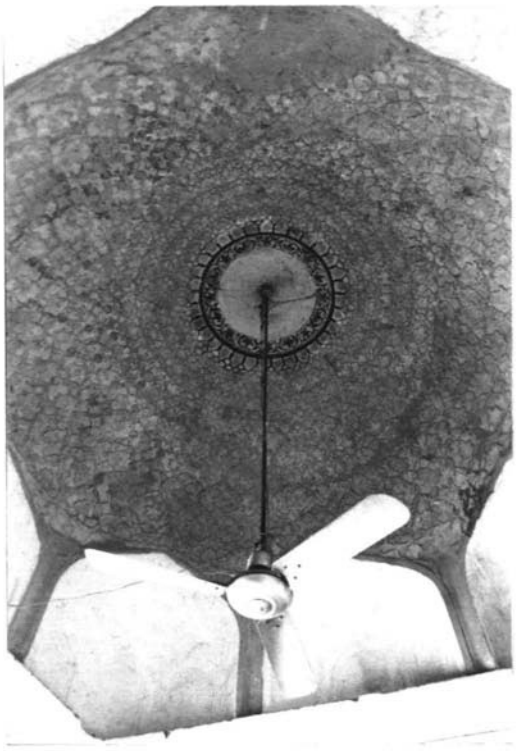

Plate 184. Interior of dome, mosque of Khwaja ᶜAmber, Patna

authority. Cooch Behar and Assam, territories to the north of Mughal Bengal, were conquered in the early 1660s. At that time temples were destroyed and mosques established, again for political purposes. Assam was eventually lost again, never to be consolidated into the Mughal empire. To the southeast, however, Buzurg Umed Khan, the son of the empire's leading noble, Shaista Khan, conquered Chittagong, on the southeast coast of Bengal. The Mughals long had vied with local rajas and Portuguese adventurers for Chittagong. When Buzurg Umed Khan secured it for the Mughals in 1666, it became a Mughal headquarters. There in 1668 he completed a Jamiᶜ mosque modeled on ones at Dhaka, although today it has undergone considerable change.

For some twenty years, Rajmahal had been the capital of Bengal under the governorship of Prince Shah Shujaᶜ. When Aurangzeb assumed the throne, Shujaᶜ was pursued into the jungles of Assam where he died. Aurangzeb's governor then abandoned Rajmahal, by then associated with the now-disgraced Shujaᶜ. As a result, nearby Gaur, too, lost much of its significance, although one notable monument was constructed there, probably early in Aurangzeb's reign. It is the tomb of Fateh Khan (Plate 185), a noble associated with Shah Shujaᶜ and his spiritual mentor Shah Niᶜmat Allah. Fateh Khan's

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Plate 185. Tomb of Fateh Khan, Gaur

rectangular tomb is surmounted by a deeply sloped *bangala* roof and appears to be the first extant example in Bengal of a Mughal structure that is entirely covered with this roof type, commonly believed to have originated here.

The capital was moved to Dhaka, which once again became the premier city of Bengal. Construction in Dhaka, long a major trade center, increased. It was at this time that one of Dhaka's most famous monuments, known today as the Lalbagh fort, was built. Its construction is credited to Shaista Khan and Prince ᶜAzim al-Shan, Mughal governors of Bengal from 1678 to 1684. Within this compound, designed as a four-part garden, they built the tomb of Bibi Pari, an audience hall (Plate 186) and attached *hammam*, a tank, enclosure walls and gates. Since the mosque within the walls is dated 1649, however, the present compound was probably built on the foundations of an earlier site. There is considerable empty space within the walls, and no residential quarters are apparent.

The structures in this compound as well as their axial layout adhere to the imperial Mughal idiom. The appearance of the audience hall closely follows that of the Sangi Dalan in Rajmahal (Plate 155) as well as the viewing pavilion in the Agra fort. Bibi Pari's tomb is modeled on that of Shah Niᶜmat Allah in Gaur, which in turn is inspired by the tomb of Iᶜtimad al-Daula in Agra (Plate

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Plate 186. Audience Hall, Lalbagh, Dhaka

71). However, the placement of Bibi Pari's tomb adjacent to the audience hall is quite out of place. Although it reputedly contains the remains of Shaista Khan's favorite daughter, Bibi Pari, that does not explain the unorthodox location of the tomb.

Despite the fact that the compound is almost universally called the Lalbagh fort, it more closely resembles an elaborate walled garden, for example, the ᶜAmm Khass Bagh in Sirhind, though the Lalbagh is not terraced. No structure in the compound is inappropriate to a garden. As was the case with most imperial gardens, it appears originally to have been intended for ceremonial and administrative purposes as well as for pleasure. In the life of a prince, these functions were not entirely discrete.

Dhaka, like the other Mughal urban centers, has several surviving mosques belonging to Aurangzeb's reign. Among them is the Satgumbad mosque (Plate 187), uninscribed but traditionally credited to Shaista Khan. Others include the mosque of Hajji Khwaja Shahbaz built in 1678–79, the mosque of Kar Talab Khan (the future Murshid Quli Khan) constructed between 1700 and 1704, and the mosque of Khan Muhammad Mirza dated 1704–05 (Plate 188). All these are single-aisled, multi-bayed mosques surmounted by domes. Both their interior and exterior surfaces are significantly more articulated than Bengali buildings of Shah Jahan's time, in fact more elaborate than mosques of eastern India in general, which are conservatively embellished (Plates 94 and 151). Their surface

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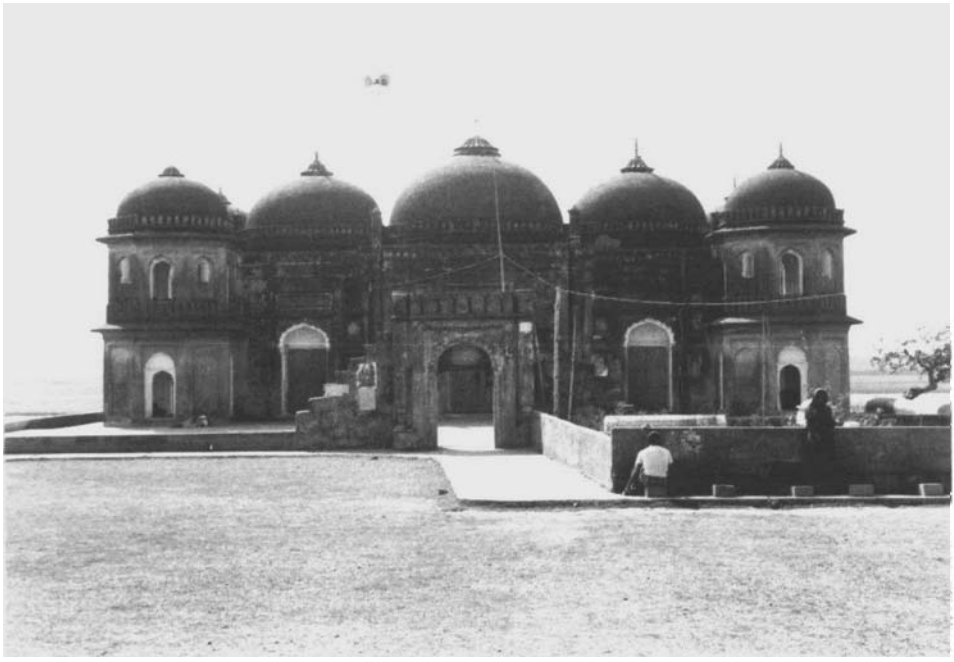

Plate 187. Satgumbad mosque, Dhaka

is usually a plaster veneer over a brick core, not the more impressive stone facing used for many imperial structures.

Increased articulation of surfaces is seen, for example, on the projecting corner turrets of the Satgumbad mosque. On Kar Talab Khan's mosque, the rectangular chambers surmounted with deeply sloped and curved *bangala* roofs flank the north and south ends. These recall the tomb of Fateh Khan in Gaur, built at the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign (Plate 185). Earlier mosques in Bengal have only two engaged columns on the east facade, while there are four on the Hajji Khwaja Shahbaz mosque, six on the Khan Muhammad Mirza mosque dated less than forty years later, and even more on the larger Kar Talab Khan mosque. Other innovations of the period include cusped entrance arches on the facade and mihrabs with cusped arches supported on engaged colonettes with bulbous bases. More elaborate is the interior of the Hajji Khwaja Shahbaz mosque (Plate 189). Its mihrabs have ornate cusped arches supported by slender colonettes and cusped transverse arches that contrast to the plain ones of Shah Jahan's time.

Burdwan was another city in Bengal long associated with the Mughals. Here Nur Jahan's first husband was killed and buried. Later the capture of Burdwan gave the rebel prince Shah Jahan all Bengal. In 1698, Khwaja Anwar-i Shahid, a

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Plate 188. Mosque of Khan Muhammad Mirza, Dhaka

noble in the service of Prince ᶜAzim al-Shan, then governor of Bengal, was ambushed and killed in Burdwan. It is popularly believed that after this incident the prince built the Burdwan Jamiᶜ mosque, dated 1699–1700, as a gesture of thanksgiving, since apparently he was the target, not the Khwaja. However, ᶜAzim al-Shan's name is not mentioned in the inscription, and the heavy unrefined features of this mosque do not suggest princely patronage.

Although the mosque in Burdwan is not an outstanding structure, the tomb complex of Khwaja Anwar-i Shahid is the most refined monument in all Mughal Bengal. This complex includes a splendid gateway, tank, mosque, madrasa and the tomb itself (Plate 190), all within a walled enclosure. Even though tradition states that the tomb complex was built in 1712 by the future emperor Farrukh Siyar, also in Burdwan at the time of the ambush, it may have been the product of ᶜAzim al-Shan's princely patronage. The three-bayed mosque's highly articulated interior is replete with cusped niches. Such ornateness is unprecedented on any seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century Bengali mosque and is probably inspired by imperial architecture such as Aurangzeb's Badshahi mosque in Lahore (Plate 163). The interior of this Burdwan mosque probably served as a basis for later eighteenth-century architecture in Murshidabad. The tomb, however, is the most creative structure in

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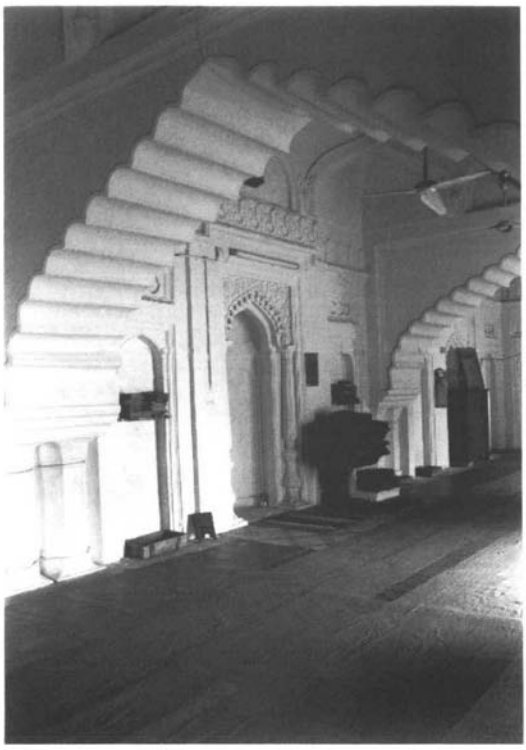

Plate 189. Interior, mosque of Hajji Khwaja Shahbaz, Dhaka

the complex. Its format, unique in India, consists of a square single-domed central chamber with rectangular-plan wings on the east and west sides crowned by *bangala* roofs. The tomb's plastered facade is covered with cusped medallions and niches as well as finely incised geometric patterns that recall the exterior of Sultan Nisar Begum's tomb in Allahabad.

Despite Aurangzeb's reputed anti-Hindu stance and ban on temple building, in fact terracotta temples were constructed in Bengal in unprecedented numbers. There are nearly forty dated terracotta temples and many others as well. A variety of types was produced. The facades of most of these temples are profusely embellished with images of deities and genre scenes indicating the strength of the Hindu visual tradition.

The founding of Calcutta by Job Charnock in 1690 and its subsequent fortification, although of little significance during Aurangzeb's reign, were ultimately to affect the future of the Mughal empire and its successor states. For the next 150 years in Bengal, three rich building traditions – Mughal-type mosques, Hindu temples and British secular structures – made this eastern area the most diverse in all north India.

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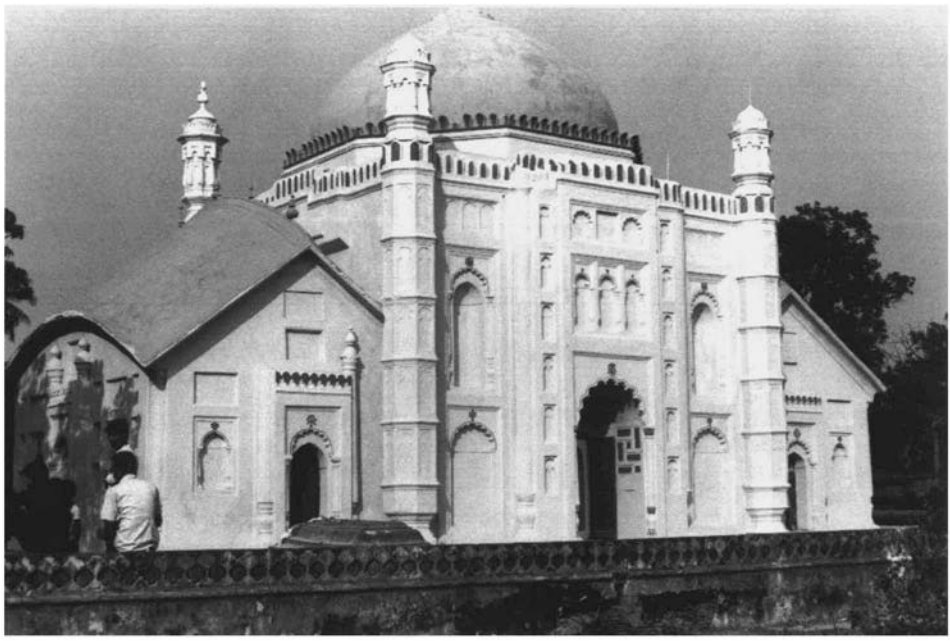

Plate 190. Tomb of Khwaja Anwar-i Shahid, Burdwan

Aurangabad

Although Aurangzeb spent the last twenty years of his reign in the Deccan, and Aurangabad served as the primary royal residence after the move south in 1681, little survives from this time. Unlike the north, where nobles generally followed imperial lead in providing architecture, few apparently did so in the Deccan. The Mughal situation there was not sufficiently stable to make architectural construction a prudent investment.

Among the few structures provided by nobles at this time are two mosques constructed in Aurangabad shortly after 1661, when Rabi^{c}a Daurani's tomb was built (Plate 166). In 1661–62 the Chowk mosque was provided by Shaista Khan, noted for his architectural patronage throughout the empire.[30] A double-aisled structure of five bays each, the simple mosque is surmounted by a single dome. It is modeled on the nearby Jami^{c} mosque dated 1615–16, built before Mughal presence here, and so shows few Mughal characteristics. Shaista Khan probably used a locally trained architect and took little part in its construction.

Much more in the Mughal mode is the Lal mosque (Plate 191) provided in 1665–66 by a government official, Zain al-Abidin. The plan of the Lal mosque is almost identical to that of the Chowk mosque built in the local idiom.

[30] *Maasir*, II: 835.

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Plate 191. Mosque of Zain al-Abidin, known as the Lal mosque, Aurangabad

However, the cusped arches of the facade supported on bulbous baluster-inspired columns are within the Mughal tradition. The use of these features was probably inspired by a mosque in the compound of Rabi^{c}a Daurani's tomb. Other structures in Aurangabad that appear to date to Aurangzeb's time include the Panchakki, a garden and reservoir complex built around a saint's shrine, and a small white mosque, now part of a girls' school, with cusping and columns similar to those on a mosque at Rabi^{c}a Daurani's tomb.

CONCLUSION

Aurangzeb was much less involved in architectural production than his predecessors were, but he did sponsor important monuments, especially religious ones. Most notable are mosques that date prior to the court's shift to the Deccan. Some of these, such as the ^{c}Idgah at Mathura, were built by the ruler himself, others by his nobles to proclaim Mughal authority in the face of opposition. On Aurangzeb's palace mosque we see an elaboration of floral and other patterns derived from those on Shah Jahan's palace pavilions. But these forms are no longer intended to suggest the semi-divine character of ruler, a notion that little concerned Aurangzeb.

Early in Aurangzeb's reign the harmonious balance of Shah Jahan-period

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architecture is rejected in favor of an increased sense of spatial tension with an emphasis on height. Stucco and other less expensive materials emulating the marble and inlaid stone of earlier periods cover built surfaces. Immediately after Aurangzeb's accession, the use of forms and motifs such as the baluster column and the *bangala* canopy, earlier reserved for the ruler alone, are found on non-imperially sponsored monuments. This suggests both that there was relatively little imperial intervention in architectural patronage and that the vocabulary of imperial and divine symbolism established by Shah Jahan was devalued by Aurangzeb. At the same time architectural activity by the nobility proliferated as never before, suggesting that they were eager to fill the role previously dominated by the emperor.

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CHAPTER 7

ARCHITECTURE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR AUTHORITY UNDER THE LATER MUGHALS AND THEIR SUCCESSOR STATES

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Aurangzeb died in 1707, but the Mughal empire endured, at least officially, for another 150 years. It lasted until the British exiled and imprisoned the last Mughal ruler after the uprising in 1858. Shah ʿAlam Bahadur Shah succeeded Aurangzeb in 1707. Continuous political turmoil prevented him, however, from entering the long-standing Mughal capital, Delhi, after his coronation. Delhi again became the imperial residence in 1712, but the empire continued to suffer seriously from financial problems, political intrigue, inadequately prepared rulers, and invasions. Moreover, Delhi experienced difficulties that reflected on the entire state. In 1739 the city was sacked by the Iranian ruler Nadir Shah and again in the 1750s by Afghans who entered India four times. In fact, as Delhi became increasingly vulnerable, it also became virtually all that was left of the Mughal empire. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, two Delhis emerged – the older Mughal city where the king still resided in Shah Jahan's fort, and British Delhi which increasingly encroached upon and transformed the older city.

As the empire weakened, the nawabs of Murshidabad, Awadh and Hyderabad established their own successor states, while Sikh, Jat, Maratha and other Hindu rulers asserted their independence, carving out numerous little kingdoms from what once had been a single empire. The architecture sponsored by the rulers and inhabitants of these new domains is heavily dependent on the Mughal style established under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, yet in each case new formal interpretations and meaning are given to older forms. The results are often highly creative expressions, reflecting these houses' political allegiance and religious affiliation.

PATTERNS OF PATRONAGE

Delhi: the capital, 1707–1858

The city before 1739

For the first half of the eighteenth century Delhi remained the unrivaled center of Muslim culture in north India, although eventually many poets and artists seeking more secure and lucrative patronage went to such stable courts as

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Awadh and Murshidabad.[1] While no Mughal ruler so much as entered the city between 1679 and 1712, Delhi's allure remained so great that an order was issued prohibiting those in the army from going there without permission. Literature, music, mystic thought and humanistic learning continued to flourish, although painting and architecture had suffered from a lack of imperial patronage well before Aurangzeb left Delhi. Between Aurangzeb's death and Muhammad Shah's reign (1719–48), little of consequence was constructed in the walled city of Shahjahanabad. In any event, no later Mughal ruler was a prolific provider of buildings. Rather, princes, queens, nobles and, increasingly, otherwise unknown citizens provided structures along with the ruler. Thus the study of architecture here will not be divided into imperial and sub-imperial categories as earlier in this book.

From the time he succeeded Aurangzeb, Shah ᶜAlam Bahadur Shah never entered Delhi. He did, however, commission the construction of a mosque and his own simple screened yet roofless tomb in the *dargah* of Bakhtiyar Kaki, just behind the famous thirteenth-century Qutb Minar. The continued importance of this *dargah* is attested by buildings provided there by some of Bahadur Shah's successors and the fact that the last Mughal resided in a mansion attached to the *dargah*.

Qutb Sahib Bakhtiyar Kaki, a follower of the Chishti order, had been a fourteenth-century saint. His *dargah* was a venerated shrine even before his death, though never as popular as the *dargah* of Shaikh Nizam al-Din, also in Delhi. Before Aurangzeb's reign there is virtually no evidence of Mughal patronage at Dargah Bakhtiyar Kaki, although Babur did visit the shrine. By praying there upon his entry into Delhi in 1526, Babur may have confirmed its sanctity for the Mughals. Commencing with Shah ᶜAlam Bahadur Shah, Dargah Bakhtiyar Kaki enjoyed unprecedented Mughal patronage. The reason for this remains unclear. In general, however, Mughal patronage at shrines in the vicinity of Delhi expanded, because Mughal authority outside Delhi was increasingly challenged.

Both the shrine of Bakhtiyar Kaki and also the emperor benefited from the close association that developed. On one hand the Mughal kings legitimized their rule by this intimate contact with the spiritual heirs of Shaikh Qutb Sahib Bakhtiyar Kaki; in turn, the shrine itself reaped economic and social benefits from imperial patronage. Once the Mughal rulers invested there, so, too, did high-ranking Mughal nobility and, by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the nawabs of independent or vassal states.[2]

Shah ᶜAlam Bahadur Shah's mosque (Plate 192), adjacent to his tomb at the

[1] Much of this paragraph is drawn from Satish Chandra, "Cultural and Political Role of Delhi, 1675–1725," in R. E. Frykenberg (ed.), *Delhi Through the Ages* (Delhi, 1986), pp. 205–17.

[2] Matsuo Ara, *Dargahs in Medieval India* (Tokyo, 1977), pp. 179–80.

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Plate 192. Shah ᶜAlam Bahadur's mosque, known as the Moti mosque, Delhi

shrine of Bakhtiyar Kaki, is known as the Moti mosque. Probably built several years before Bahadur Shah's death in 1712, the marble mosque is situated in a walled enclosure to the west of the saint's grave. Unlike the double-aisled Moti mosque in the Shahjahanabad fort, this is a single-aisled structure. It is surmounted by three bulbous domes on constricted necks. On each corner of the east central bay is a slender engaged baluster-like column, a feature by now used in religious architecture.

Bahadur Shah's successor, Farrukh Siyar (r. 1713–19), further embellished the *dargah* by building a screened marble enclosure around Bakhtiyar Kaki's grave and two marble entrance gates leading to the grave site. He also rebuilt in white marble the *dargah*'s original stucco mosque situated to the east of the saint's tomb. The marble gates (Plate 193) are inscribed with inlaid black marble characters, thus drawing upon forms and materials first introduced by Shah Jahan at the Ajmer Chishti shrine (Plate 105). The one closest to the tomb, dated 1717–18, is characterized by rounded cusped arches in whose spandrels are large floral medallions and arabesque creepers. Beyond Farrukh Siyar's gates the devotee goes through a series of passages from the first entrance to the grave. This architectural complexity helps emphasize the saint's importance.[3]

[3] Ara, *Dargahs*, p. 176.

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Plate 193. Farrukh Siyar's gate, Dargah Bakhtiyar Kaki, Delhi

Since *dargahs* have inherent authority, the Mughals, as a result of their patronage, draw upon that authority.

Farrukh Siyar's additions radically changed the shrine's appearance. Visually the Chishti *dargah* of Bakhtiyar Kaki now more closely resembled the premier Chishti shrine of Muʿin al-Din in Ajmer, where during Shah Jahan's reign many of the major structures had been built by the royal family. But the shrine in Ajmer received no new support from the late Mughals due to unfavorable political conditions. Instead Bakhtiyar Kaki's shrine was revitalized by the later Mughals in white marble and building types that evoked a glorious Mughal past.

Festivities at the shrine also underscored Mughal affiliation with the Chishti order. For example, Raushan al-Daula Zafar Khan, by far the most influential amir in the court of Muhammad Shah, more powerful even than the prime minister (*wazir*), spent vast sums, much of them embezzled, on the ʿUrs ceremony at Khwaja Qutb Sahib Bakhtiyar Kaki's *dargah*. By providing elaborate lighting devices along the road that led from the palace in Shahjahanabad to the *dargah* some 15 km south, he created a spectacular

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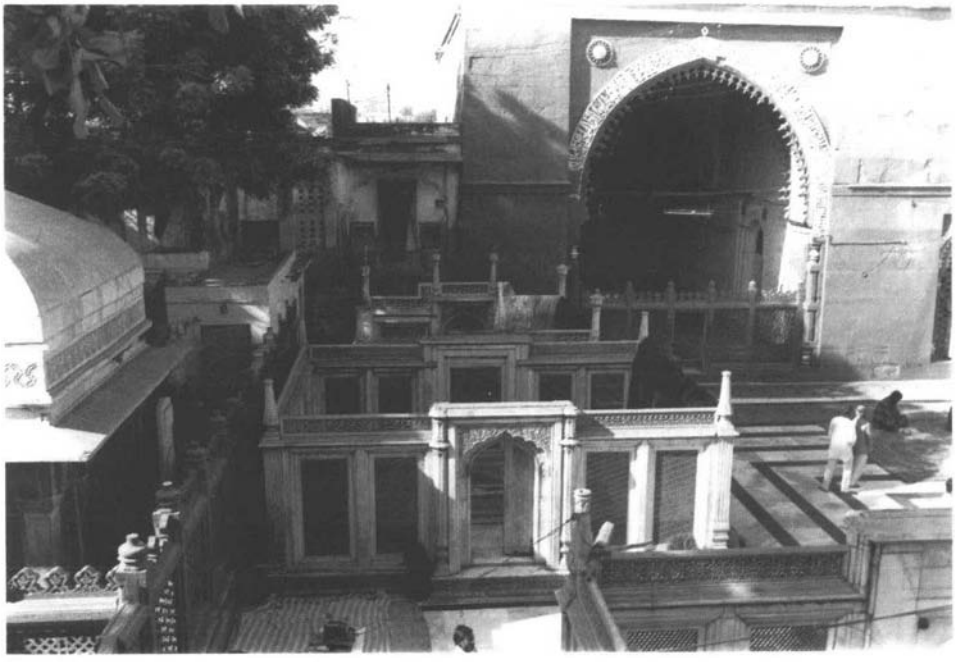

Plate 194. Muhammad Shah's tomb with Jahan Ara's tomb at the rear and Amir Khusrau's on the left, Delhi

visual link between the Mughals and this shrine. These celebrations, popular with Muslims and Hindus alike, appealed to a wide section of the population.

Muhammad Shah assumed the throne in late 1719, reigning twenty-nine years, until his death in 1748. He was the third monarch to rule after Farrukh Siyar; his two predecessors did not survive even a full year. Muhammad Shah is credited with constructing a wall around Dargah Chiraq-i Delhi in 1729 and the construction of a wooden mosque inside the Shahjahanabad palace. He also built his own tomb (Plate 194) inside the shrine of Nizam al-Din in Delhi. This white marble screened tomb is modeled closely on the nearby tomb of Jahan Ara Begum (Plate 167), although this tomb-type long had become standard. Muhammad Shah's enclosure reveals more profuse floral ornamentation and highly carved surfaces, for example along the screen's base.

It is only commencing with Muhammad Shah's reign that considerable building activity is witnessed again within the walled city of Shahjahanabad. Significant construction occurred both before and after the invasion of Delhi by the Iranian Nadir Shah in 1739, suggesting that his attack had less devastating long-term effects than is commonly believed. Among the structures erected before Nadir Shah's invasions is the Sunahri or Golden mosque built in 1721–22 by Raushan al-Daula, who provided lavish celebrations at the ᶜUrs

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Plate 195. Partial facade, Raushan al-Daula's mosque, also known as the Sunahri mosque, Chandni Chowk, Delhi

ceremony of Bakhtiyar Kaki. This three-bayed single-aisled mosque is situated next to the Mughal police station (still in use today) in Chandni Chowk, then across from Jahan Ara's great serai. The mosque was provided at the beginning of Raushan al-Daula's rise to power. The location alone, close to the main entrance of the Shahjahanabad palace, indicates his close ties to the emperor. An inscription over the structure's east facade indicates that the mosque was erected to honor Shah Bhik, his spiritual mentor, who had died two years earlier.

Reached by a flight of narrow steps, the structure is elevated above the ground. Its slender minarets that rise above the roof line and the gilt metal-plated bulbous domes resting on constricted drums added a delicate air to Shahjahanabad's skyline. The emphasis at this time was on delicacy and refinement, not just on the sense of awesome height that had been a major factor in late seventeenth-century taste (Plates 177 and 179). The mosque's facade (Plate 195) and interior are embellished with molded stucco arabesques and floral motifs. Panels of elaborate floral sprays similar to those on the Badshahi mosque form a dado along the base of the facade. The bases of the fluted engaged pilasters flanking the central bay are elaborately covered with floral tendrils. Thus floral sprays that were earlier reserved for Aurangzeb's palace mosques are now used outside the palace, yet by the highest-ranking nobility.

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Plate 196. Fakhr al-Masajid, Delhi

The use of hitherto imperial motifs reflects the increasing power assumed by the nobility – at times overshadowing that of the ruler himself.

Although Raushan al-Daula provided more buildings than any other noble during Muhammad Shah's reign, his was not the finest in Delhi. That superb building is the Fakhr al-Masajid, or Pride of the Mosques (Plate 196), provided by a noblewoman. The mosque was built in 1728–29 by Kaniz-i Fatima entitled Fakhr-i Jahan (Pride of the World), to commemorate her deceased husband, Shujaᶜat Khan, a high-ranking noble under Aurangzeb. Situated on a high plinth, not far from Delhi's Kashmir gate, it is one of the few stone mosques built in Delhi during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This red sandstone mosque, faced with white marble, is clearly modeled on the major mosques of the city erected during the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb (Plates 124 and 168). Most of those mosques, too, had been provided by the court ladies. Fakhr-i Jahan, by erecting this mosque, continues an earlier tradition. While the emphasis on the mosque's height due to its tall minarets is typical of the period, the delicate inlay and carved niches of its interior recall the uncluttered aesthetic of Shah Jahan's earlier religious architecture.

Other notable mosques of Muhammad Shah's reign built inside the city before Nadir Shah's invasion show the continued vitality of the evolving Mughal style, one that persisted even in the absence of strong central leadership. These include the mosque and school of Nawab Sharaf al-Daula dated

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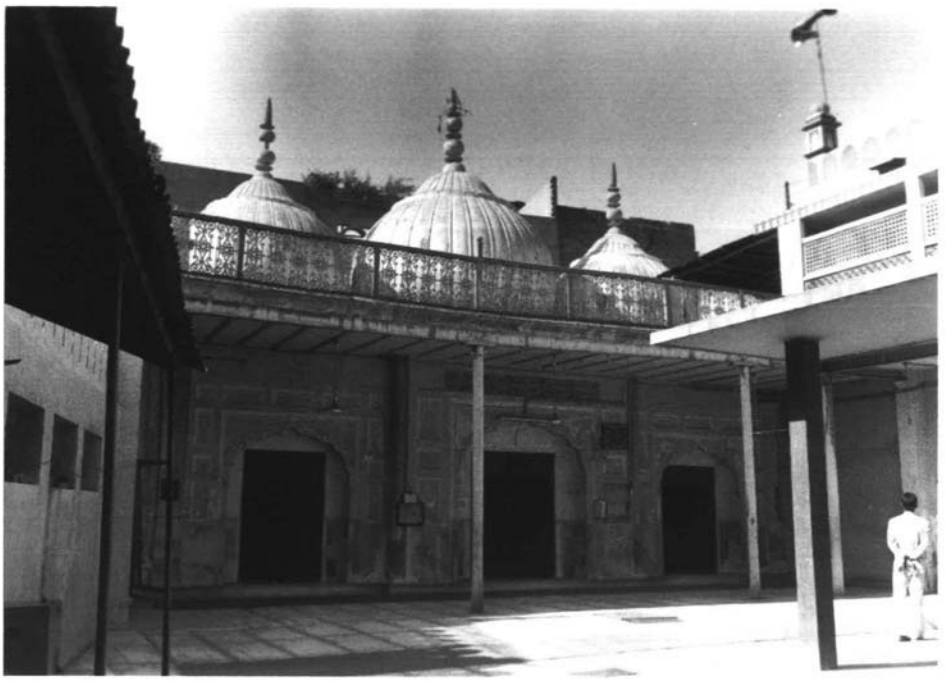

Plate 197. Muhtasib's mosque, Delhi

1722–23 and the Muhtasib's mosque (Plate 197) provided in 1723–24 by Abu Sa'id, the hereditary inquisitor (*muhtasib*) of Delhi. Both of these are single-aisled three-bayed mosques entered through openings with cusped arches and surmounted by bulbous ribbed domes. These domes recall those on the Moti mosque at Bakhtiyar Kaki's *dargah* (Plate 192) and are similar to many during this period. Nawab Sharaf al-Daulat's mosque is situated on a high plinth with chambers beneath, today shops, that may have served as the school. The mosque of Abu Sa'id rather unusually for this time is not atop a high plinth. Unlike Sharaf al-Daula's solid appearing edifice, it bears delicate stucco ornament similar to that on Raushan al-Daula's mosque built only two years earlier.

Not all mosques inside the city were adequately large to serve an entire locality; rather, they were built for personal use. One such example is the mosque of Tahawwur Khan (Plate 198), dated 1727–28, built by a major landholder of Delhi. The area of the city in which this simple single-aisled flat-roofed mosque is located is named for Tahawwur Khan and was the site of his mansion. On its facade three cusped entrances are supported by bulbous pilaster columns. Thus a variety of mosques was erected before 1739; possibly the lack of a strong imperial pattern accounts for this diversity in form and ornament.

Religious structures appear to dominate the later Mughal architecture of

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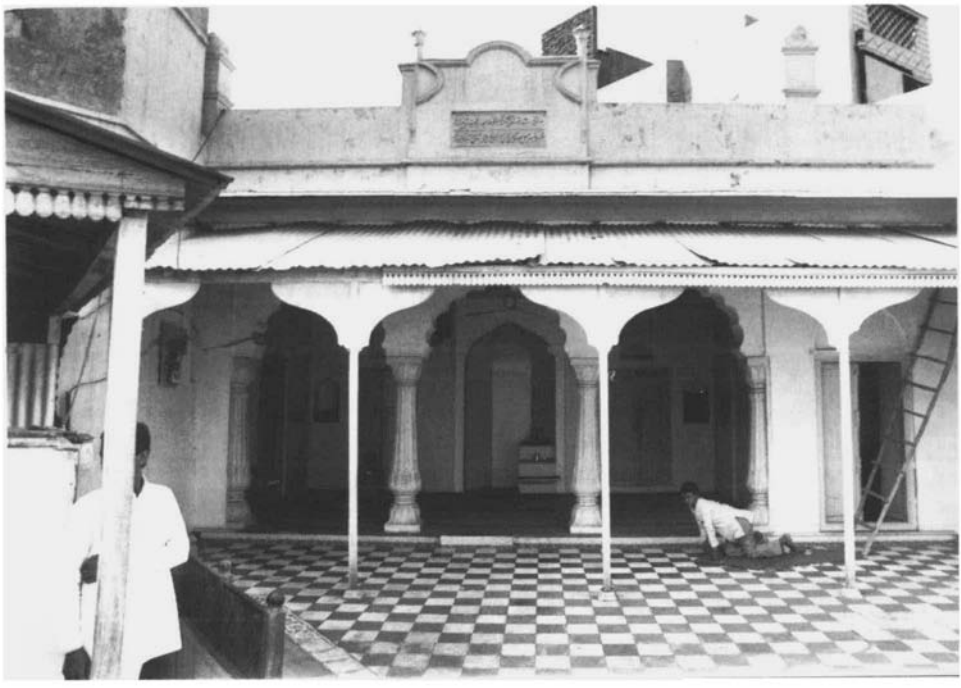

Plate 198. Mosque of Tahawwur Khan, Delhi

Delhi. That is because mostly sacred buildings remain, although serais, gardens and markets continued to be built. The surviving ones are outside the city wall. For example, an extensive bazaar known today as the Tripolia with a massive triple-arched entrance gate at either end was built in 1728–29 north of the walled city along the major highway leading to Lahore. This compound was built by Nazir Mahaldar Khan, superintendent of the women's quarter in the palace of Muhammad Shah.

At Muhammad Shah's request, the raja of Jaipur, Sawai Jai Singh Kachhwaha (1699–1743), provided Delhi with an extraordinary observatory known as the Jantar Mantar (Plate 199). This able statesman and astrologer constructed the observatory about 1725 in an area to the south of the walled city known as Jaisinghpura, probably the locale of his own estate there. Subsequently he built similar observatories with comparable sophisticated structural instruments in Jaipur, Benares, Mathura and Ujjain. Constructed of brick and plaster, the juxtaposed circular and angular shapes of these enormous instruments produce an effect unlike that of any other architecture of the period. Their forms as well as their scientific sophistication remain appealing to twentieth-century sensibilities. Muhammad Shah's desire for such an observatory speaks highly of his interest in promoting scientific knowledge, not simply the literary arts for which he is well known.

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Plate 199. Jantar Mantar, Delhi

Delhi: 1739–1858

In 1739, the Iranian ruler Nadir Shah invaded Delhi. This was the city's first invasion in almost two centuries. From Raushan al-Daula's Sunahri mosque, Nadir Shah ordered the city plundered – a sack that lasted less than twelve hours. Many were killed, regardless of religion. The markets and buildings in the vicinity of Chandni Chowk as well as the fort suffered great damage. The psychological jolt given to the complacent citizens of Delhi was never fully forgotten. Poets many years later continued to lament this event as if it had happened yesterday. The Iranian ruler remained in the city for about two months, taking on his departure the money from the royal treasury, jewels – including Shah Jahan's Peacock Throne and the Koh-i Nur diamond – and many other valuables. However, the loss of this wealth, essentially non-circulating, ultimately had little impact on the city's economy since trade continued to prosper.[4]

Indeed, Delhi recovered quickly, and new buildings replaced those destroyed. The very patron who had provided the mosque from which Nadir Shah issued his order for the destruction gave the city a second mosque. Raushan al-Daula Zafar Khan provided it in 1744-45.[5] By now the former

[4] S. Chandra, "Cultural and Political Role of Delhi," p. 206.

[5] Textual sources indicate Raushan al-Daula died in 1736; however, this mosque's inscription in the *List*, I: 32–34, indicates he lived at least another eight years.

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Plate 200. Raushan al-Daula's mosque, known today as the Sunahri mosque, Darayaganj, Delhi

influential amir had fallen from favor and was no longer active in politics. His second mosque, like his first one (Plate 195), is known today as the Sunahri or Golden mosque, and, like it, was also built in honor of the religious figure Shah Bhik, who had died some years earlier. Situated south of the fort along the main road that led to the Delhi gate, now an area known as Daryaganj, it is a single-aisled three-bayed mosque (Plate 200). Originally it was surmounted with gilt, copper-faced domes. However, the metal was subsequently removed and placed on the mosque Raushan al-Daula had constructed earlier in Chandni Chowk. Today even the domes are missing.

This mosque is more robust in appearance than the one he provided some twenty years earlier. It also bears considerably less stucco ornament. Whether this change in aesthetic was conscious is unclear, but the solid yet austere appearance suggests an infusion of new stability into the city.

In 1748 Muhammad Shah was succeeded by his son, Ahmad Shah. The new ruler's mother, Udham Bai, also known as Qudsiya Begum, wielded considerable influence over Ahmad Shah, as she had done in the early stages of Muhammad Shah's reign when she was that ruler's favorite consort. Now, in fact, this shrewd queen and her confidant, Javid Khan, the prime minister, held the true reins of power. Qudsiya Begum was an enthusiastic provider of architecture, best known for her palace and garden complex, Qudsiya Bagh. It

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Plate 201. Qudsiya Bagh mosque, Delhi

was probably commenced when Ahmad Shah assumed the throne in 1748. Located just north of Delhi's walled city, this garden housed a substantial residence that overlooked the river Jumna. The mansion has since been destroyed, but late eighteenth-century engravings of its riverside facade indicate its splendor and size. A large two-storied edifice, the mansion had polygonal turrets at each end. The facade was marked with projecting oriel windows surmounted with sloped *bangala*-type roofs, indicating that this roof type continued to be used on secular architecture. Today only an entrance gate and mosque remain, both made of stucco-covered brick.

The massive gate, probably that of the entire compound, is surmounted by unusually large *kungura*. Detailed ornamentation of the gate's stucco work contributes to an overall elaborate appearance. Beyond is the mosque (Plate 201), whose plan is similar to that of others in the later Mughal period. It is richly adorned with molded and polychromed stucco, marked by elaborate faceted patterns and exaggerated floral designs found at the base and apex of arches. Engaged pilasters are flattened and highly articulated with chevron-like designs. Such ornamentation is usually termed decadent, as if to reflect Qudsiya Begum's own character, generally considered low and unrefined. She was, however, a highly cultured woman. In any event, this ornamentation is

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Plate 202. Mosque of Qudsiya Begum and Javid Khan, known as the Sunahri mosque, Delhi

simply a more exuberant expression of that developed under the earlier Mughals.

During her son's short reign, Qudsiya Begum provided a second mosque (Plate 202), with Javid Khan, in 1750–51. Like the two mosques provided by Raushan al-Daula, this one, too, is known as the Sunahri mosque after its once metal-plated domes. Located along the main road just south of the palace, the compound is entered by a red carved stone gate. The red stone mosque is small and delicate, though flanked on either side by extremely tall minarets. These and the bulbous domes emphasize the mosque's height, giving the small building a grandiose air. It is decorated with more subdued ornament than that of Qudsiya Begum's private mosque on her mansion grounds.

In the year the queen mother provided the Sunahri mosque she also built several structures at a Shia shrine known as Shahi Mardan in Delhi, about 9 km south of the walled city. These included an assembly hall, a mosque and tank as well as a walled enclosure. Little is known about the shrine before Qudsiya Begum's patronage there, but it is probable that the queen mother erected these structures to augment a Qadam Sharif, a building housing a footprint revered as that of ʿAli, who according to the Shia sect was the rightful

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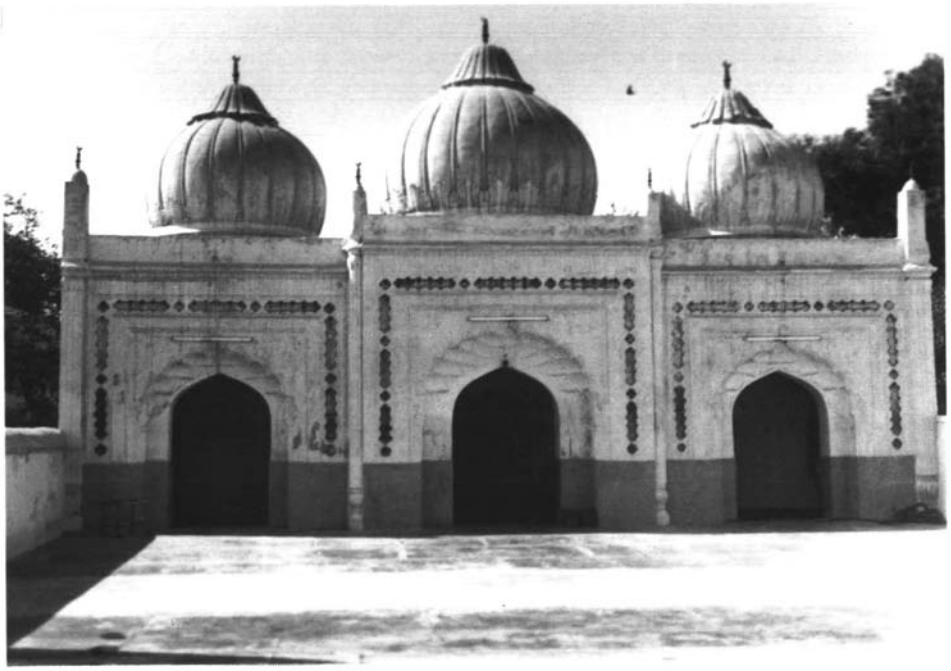

Plate 203. Qudsiya Begum's Shahi Mardan mosque, Delhi

successor of Muhammad. The current Qadam Sharif was built in 1759–60, probably renewing an older one. Although most of Qudsiya Begum's buildings here have been rebuilt, her mosque (Plate 203) remains a well-preserved example of eighteenth-century religious architecture. It closely resembles the overall plan and elevation of her private Qudsiya Bagh mosque. Lacking is the profuse stucco ornament, suggesting that more austere decor was considered appropriate for public buildings such as the Sunahri mosque, built concurrently. Qudsiya Begum's patronage here may have been an attempt to give this Shia shrine similar status to that enjoyed by Sunni shrines of Bakhtiyar Kaki and Nizam al-Din.

By the mid-eighteenth century Delhi was virtually all that remained of the once great Mughal empire. Nevertheless, that small empire and its emperor remained the model for Muslim culture and administration throughout north India. In Bengal and elsewhere, former provinces were transformed into autonomous states. In the case of Awadh, however, the ties with Delhi were broken gradually. For example, Safdar Jang, the Mughal governor of Awadh, never regarded himself as independent, but part of the larger empire. After his death in 1754 his body was transported a considerable distance to the imperial capital, Delhi, which Safdar Jang always considered his home. There his son, Nawab Shujaᶜ al-Daula, built an enormous mausoleum (Plate 204).

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Plate 204. Safdar Jang's tomb, Delhi

Not only was Safdar Jang's tomb built in the Mughal capital, it was, moreover, closely modeled on Humayun's tomb, the first imperial Mughal mausoleum (Plates 18 and 19). This square plan tomb is in the center of a walled *char bagh* complex. Although the tomb's layout, plan and its exterior, faced with pink and white stone, recall Humayun's tomb, Safdar Jang's tomb bears many features characteristic of mid-eighteenth-century architecture. These include complex stucco ornament on the interior, cusped rounded entrance arches, central *pishtaqs* surmounted by a series of bulbous domes and a central dome that rests on a tightly constricted drum. The structure presents a balance between increased surface articulation and mass. Commonly referred to as the last vestige of an older Mughal architectural style, this tomb exerted considerable influence on the mausolea of the subsequent nawabs of Awadh and their queens, who were buried in either Faizabad or Lucknow (Plate 216). This older imperial-type tomb appealed to the ruler of Awadh, the tomb's patron, who had adopted with minimal change many of the customs and regulations of the Mughal court.

Although the Mughal empire became increasingly impotent politically, Delhi continued to flourish even into the late eighteenth century. Much of Delhi's construction at this time was financed by persons employed by the East

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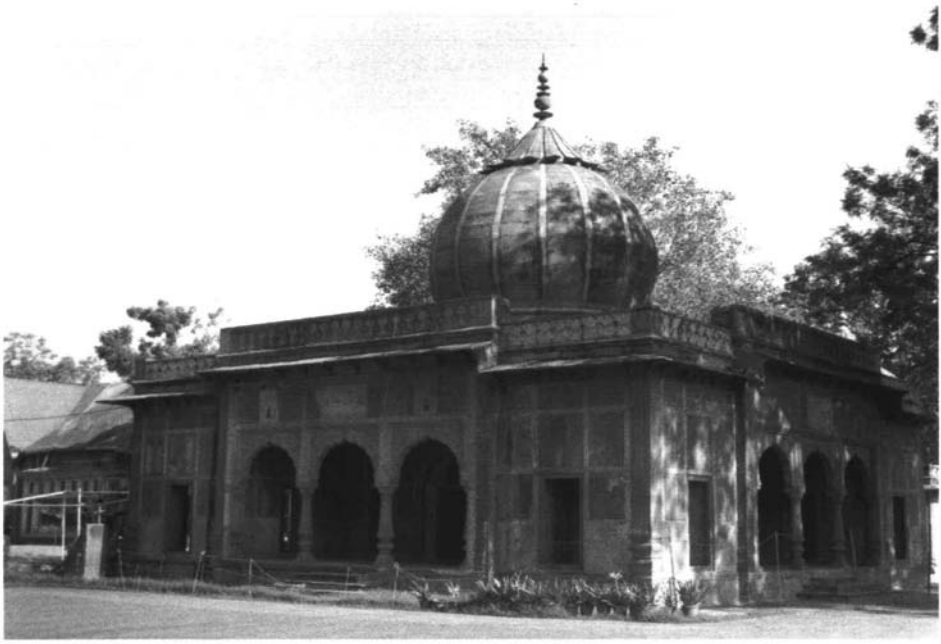

Plate 205. Lal Bangala tomb, Delhi

India Company or by businessmen. Into the nineteenth century, the growth of wealthy Jain, Jat and other non-Muslim communities increased. In what was once the heartland of the Mughal empire, these non-Muslims constructed their own buildings that reflected Delhi's new elite. For example, almost directly in front of the Shahjahanabad fort several Jain and Hindu temples were built, and elsewhere in the walled city Hindu temples were erected in prolific numbers.

The Mughal emperors and their subjects continued to build, although not as extensively as before. Some mosques were added inside the walled city, among them one provided in 1779 by Qasim Khan, a high-ranking noble in the reign of Shah ᶜAlam II. But increasingly construction occurred south of the walled city, in part because the esteemed Chishti *dargahs* were there. In 1755–56 the emperor ᶜAlamgir II himself wrote an inscription now inside the tomb of Nizam al-Din indicating that he had made repairs and additions to the shrine. South of the city, moreover, there was vacant land suitable for the construction of garden complexes and tombs. Here, about 1730, Shah ᶜAlam II buried his mother and daughter in a walled enclosure that contains three red stone tombs (Plate 205). Each of the single-story buildings is surmounted with a bulbous ribbed dome standing on a constricted neck. Internally they are arranged with eight smaller chambers surrounding a large central one, a plan common in Mughal tombs and dwellings (Plate 74). Known as Lal Bangala or the Red Pavilion on account of their color, they are today within the compound of the

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Plate 206. Lal Kunwar's mosque, Delhi

Delhi Golf Club. They are rare examples at this time of domed mausolea for imperial family members.

In 1803, the British gained control of Delhi, and Mughal authority existed in name alone. The Mughal emperors, however, assumed their regal responsibilities as best they could, for they remained symbols of a way of life and refined culture whose significance even the British recognized. They continued to construct religious and palace edifices when possible. In 1811 new stone masonry bridges replacing older wooden drawbridges were placed before the Lahore and Delhi gates of the Shahjahanabad palace.[6] Erected under the auspices of the Mughal ruler Akbar II, their construction was supervised by an Englishman, Robert Macpherson. These immovable bridges served British interests, for their presence meant that the fort could not be completely isolated by Mughal inhabitants.

An increasing number of religious buildings was provided by citizens identified only by name. For example, in 1837–38 Saddho, a woman who describes herself as a humble milkmaid, erected religious structures within the old city that no longer remain. Still standing, however, is a red sandstone

[6] *List* 1: 9.

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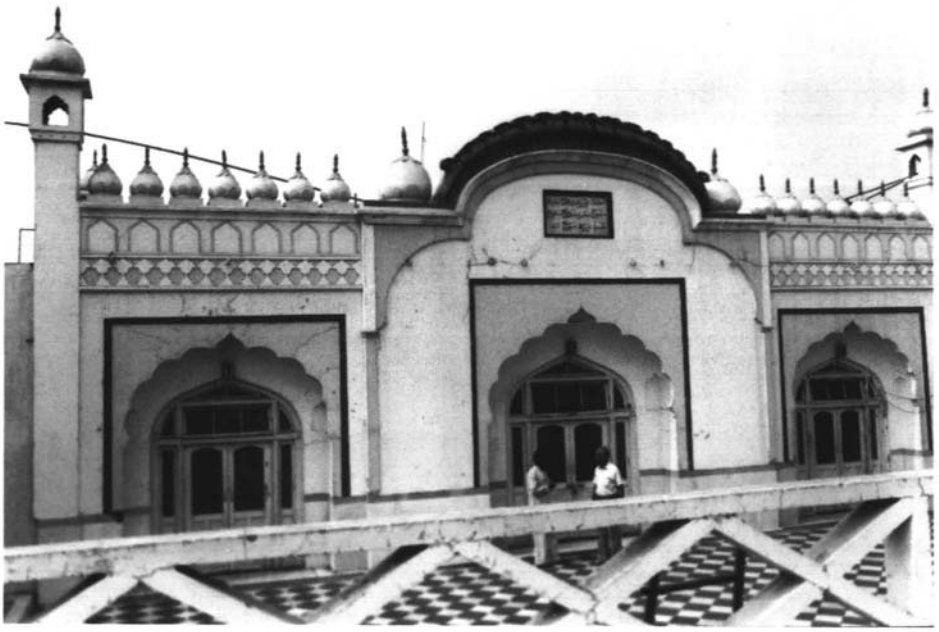

Plate 207. Mosque of Hamid ᶜAli Khan, Delhi

mosque (Plate 206) built in 1822–23 by Mubarak Begum, known as Lal Kunwar, the consort of an Englishman residing in Delhi. This small single-aisled three-bayed mosque is probably the best surviving example of early nineteenth-century Mughal architecture in Delhi today. Its facade is marked by rounded cusped arches, above which is a tri-lobed arch whose central bay recalls the baldachin covering on Shah Jahan's throne in his nearby Public Audience Hall (Plate 119). The interior transverse arches are tri-lobed, the shape of decorative arches on the mosque's exterior. Tri-lobed arches also appear on the mihrab. The mosque's interior is finely but chastely carved with shallow recessed arches and cusped niches. This small but well-balanced structure suggests a waning taste for highly ornate surfaces in Delhi, while in contemporary Lucknow and Murshidabad, Mughal successor states, the desire for ornate surfaces was at a peak.

The last significant Mughal building erected within the old walled city is the mosque of Hamid ᶜAli Khan (Plate 207), the prime minister of Bahadur Shah II (1837–58), the last Mughal emperor. Hamid ᶜAli built it in 1841–42 not far from the Kashmir gate. Its inscription was written by Ghalib, the most famous poet of the time. This large mosque, situated on a raised platform, reveals a sense of spatial tension. Here the emphasis is on the horizontal, while spatial tension in the later seventeenth century had a vertical emphasis. Yet the sense of visual

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imbalance is similar. The facade bears three large cusped entrance arches. The central bay, marked with a large arch whose central lobe forms a curved cornice, recalls Shah Jahan's throne in the nearby fort. Its flanking side-wings are surmounted with a parapet of miniature domes based on earlier Mughal entrance gates, in particular the entrance into the Taj Mahal. The mosque's interior (Plate 208) features cusped arches supported on baluster-type columns derived from those first used in Shah Jahan's architecture.

This evocation of forms from the past was intentional, for Hamid ᶜAli chose not to include any of the increasingly apparent westernized features on his mosque; instead he looked back to motifs manifest most clearly during the height of Mughal power. In this same manner, Bahadur Shah only a decade later commissioned the poet Ghalib, the very poet who wrote the verse embellishing Hamid ᶜAli's mosque, to write a history of the entire Mughal house commencing with Timur. The vision of the last Mughal and those associated with him was to the past, not to any future. Ghalib himself laments the passing of the past, a major theme in his verse and letters, evoking Shah Jahan's reign as a golden age.[7] Yet, while Hamid ᶜAli's mosque shows features based on those of earlier Mughal buildings, they are here combined in a unique manner. This innovative structure suggests that even at the very end of the Mughal period architectural forms and decor maintained a deep debt to the aesthetic of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb; yet at the same time these forms continued to evolve in a highly experimental and creative manner.

The last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah II, a sufi himself, constructed his own red sandstone mansion adjacent to the *dargah* of Bakhtiyar Kaki. It was known as Zafar Mahal after the king's poetic name. It is no accident that the residence was constructed close to the *dargah*. Just as tombs were built in the compounds of these shrines so that the interred might receive the divine power (*baraka*) of the saint, so the last Mughal, with little authority of his own, hoped to derive some from the inherent authority of the *dargah*.

Western India

Rajasthan

For generations the Mughals had patronized the *dargah* of Muᶜin al-Din Chishti in Ajmer, but due to political difficulties did so no longer by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Not much later the Mughals lost Ajmer to Hindu authorities, who held it until 1818, when the British took control. All the same, the importance of Ajmer's Chishti shrines attracted support from Hindus and Muslims alike. Moreover, Mughal authority, while in reality

[7] Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib, *Ghalib, 1797–1869*, ed. and tr. Ralph Russell and Khurshidul Islam (London, 1969), p. 73.

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Plate 208. Interior column, Hamid ᶜAli Khan's mosque

impotent in Ajmer, remained symbolically important. For example, in fulfillment of a vow made during an illness, ᶜAli Jah, the nawab of Karnataka, constructed a white marble pavilion (Plate 209) at the *dargah* of Muᶜin al-Din in 1793. The flat-roofed rectangular pavilion is largely modeled on Shah Jahan's Jamiᶜ mosque in the *dargah* (Plate 105), including even details such as the inscription inlaid in black marble lettering. The inscription evokes the Mughal emperor's name, even though he had no political authority in Ajmer, reflecting his continuing role as a figure-head of Indian Persianate culture.

Muᶜin al-Din inspired patronage even outside the *dargah*. A large ᶜIdgah (Plate 210) was constructed some distance from the shrine to honor the saint according to the inscription embedded in its qibla wall. Only on the city outskirts was there adequate open space for this large structure. It was provided in 1773–74 by Nawab Mirza Chaman Beg, the governor of Malwa under the Sindhia rajas, then the masters of Ajmer. An impressive interpretation of a *bangala*-inspired roof forms the upper portion of this vast wall mosque's upper central bay. Beneath this curved form is a pavilion depicted in stucco relief that resembles Shah Jahan's balcony from which he presented himself to the public (Plate 113). Subsequent variations on this pavilion type were used frequently in

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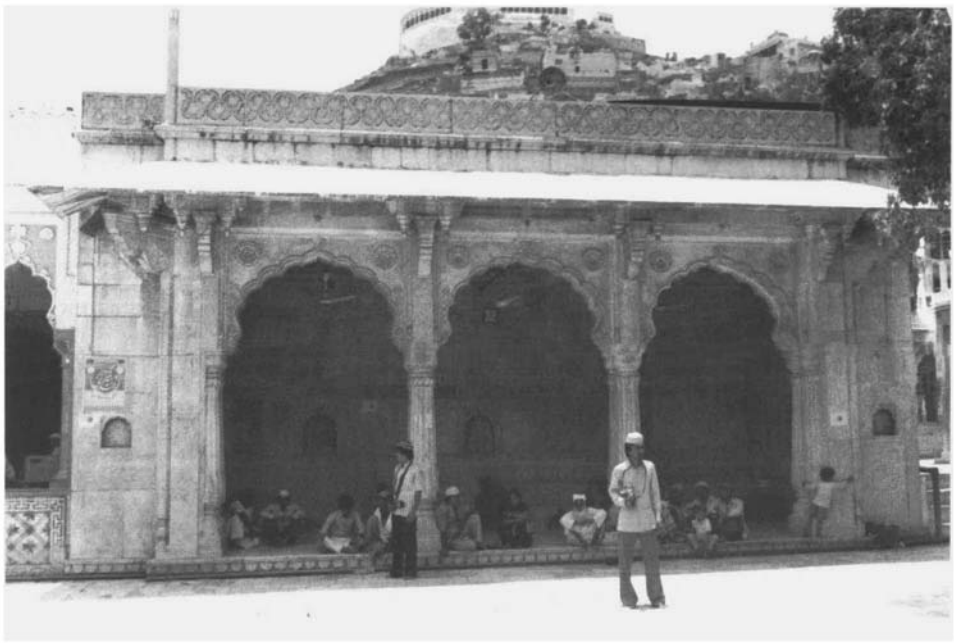

Plate 209. ᶜAli Jah's pavilion, Ajmer

the palace architecture of the Rajasthani princes, but in all cases this pavilion-type maintained a royal or religious connotation. Its use here serves as a reference to Muᶜin al-Din, who in the ᶜIdgah's inscription is called "king of the dominion."[8]

Tombs built earlier in Ajmer continued to be embellished. ᶜAbd Allah Khan, father of the king-maker Sayyid brothers who were so very prominent during the first half of the eighteenth century, had built a garden, mosque and tomb for his wife in Ajmer at the end of Aurangzeb's reign. ᶜAbd Allah Khan's own tomb (Plate 211) was added to this garden complex in 1710 by his son, Sayyid Husain ᶜAli Khan. Five years later, in 1715, he added a large arched entrance to the compound. The tomb is loosely modeled in plan and elevation on the Aurangzeb-period Sola Khamba, or tomb of Shaikh ᶜAla al-Din, just outside the *dargah* of Muᶜin al-Din Chishti (Plate 169). A dome and four corner *chattris*, however, surmount the roof of ᶜAbd Allah Khan's tomb, while the roof of the earlier tomb is flat. On ᶜAbd Allah's tomb, the cusping of the arches is tighter, less exaggerated, and the supporting pillars are less ornate. While architecture under the later Mughals is generally considered a more exaggerated version of earlier Mughal material, here is one of several instances where the opposite pertains.

[8] S. A. I. Tirmizi, *Ajmer through Inscriptions (1532–1852 A.D.)* (New Delhi, 1968), p. 63.

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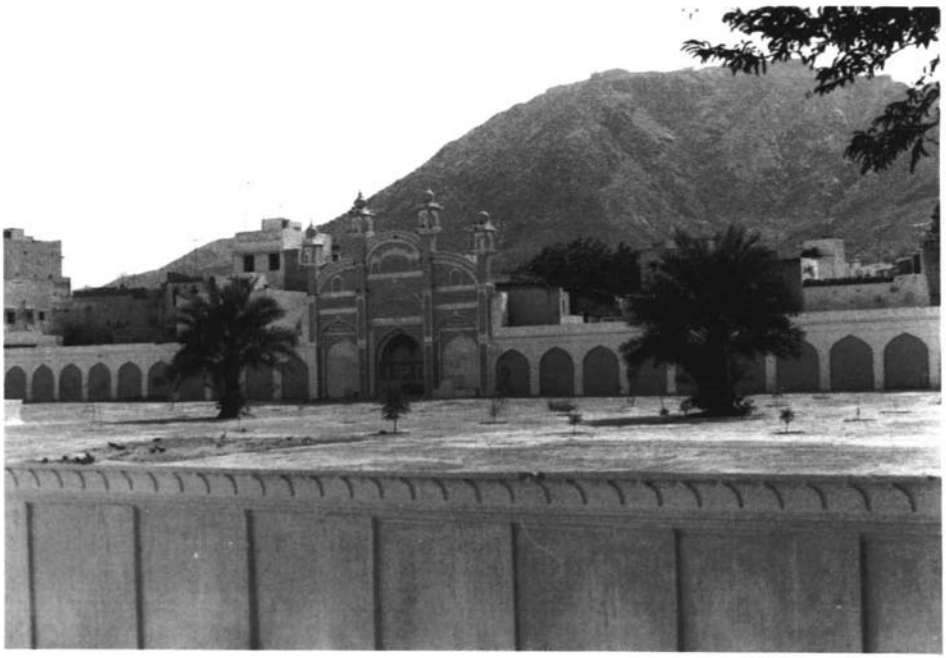

Plate 210. ᶜIdgah, Ajmer

Construction in the city continued as well, the most notable example being the mosque of Mir Saᶜadat ᶜAli, today across from the railway station. This two-storied mosque, dated 1852–53, when Ajmer was part of the British-governed Rajputana Agency, is built in an eighteenth-century Mughal idiom with cusped arches and delicate stucco work. Its inscription, like that on its more experimental counterpart in Delhi, is also composed by the famous poet Ghalib.

While most cities grew randomly within and outside their confines, Jaipur, founded in 1727, was completely planned. Sawai Jai Singh (1688–1743), a remarkable statesman and head of the Kachhwaha house, built it on the plain below Amber, this house's older capital. The layout of his new capital was praised widely in contemporary sources. Based on ancient Hindu texts, the resulting walled city, with broad regular streets dividing it into quadrants in a grid-like pattern, is far more organized than the Mughal city of Shahjahanabad. Sawai Jai Singh's interest in astronomy as indicated by his observatories also had an imprint on the city's plan.

The focal point of the city is the palace. It is designed along the lines of a traditional Rajasthan mansion, but different from the residential part of Mughal palaces. Chambers for residential, administrative and courtly functions are all contained within these multi-storied walls. Even more graceful than

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Plate 211. ʿAbd Allah Khan's tomb, Ajmer

Mughal palaces, this one has a light appearance. This is achieved through the use of numerous cusped arches on slender columns, screens containing very delicate carving, and many pillared pavilions with curved roofs surmounting the roofline. These features emphasize the sense of height and also create a graceful skyline.

Much of the city and its uniformly designed buildings were constructed under Sawai Jai Singh, but his successors continued to build there as well. In 1799 Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh built the Hawa Mahal (Plate 212). This residential building, constructed to take advantage of the cooling breezes, was dedicated to the Hindu deity Krishna and his consort, Radha. Its six stories of clustered, articulated and projecting oriel windows, all surmounted by curved roofs, resemble a honeycomb. The building's top floor reflects each of the smaller roofs. This in essence utilizes traditional Indian building concepts of reduplication of forms, yet maintains the characteristic late eighteenth-century height, grace and lightness.

North India

Lahore to Agra

The Mughals were able to hold Lahore and most of the Punjab until the mid-eighteenth century, when political instability made their rule there tenuous. By 1768, Sikh chiefs had replaced the Mughals until the British, in turn, superseded

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Plate 212. Hawa Mahal, Jaipur

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them in 1849. Few notable monuments were erected in the Punjab during the later Mughal period, possibly reflecting the unstable conditions as well as the lack of imperial intervention there. The tomb of Sharaf al-Nisa Begum, known as the Sarvwala Maqbara, or Cypress tomb, after its dominant ornamentation, is Lahore's best-preserved monument from the post-Aurangzeb period. Sharaf al-Nisa was the sister of Nawab Zakariya Khan, a governor of Lahore under Muhammad Shah. This tomb purportedly was used during her life as a meditation chamber. A unique structure, the building is a tapering tower surmounted with a pyramidal vault. Cypress trees and floral motifs rendered in glazed tile mosaic embellish the upper portion. Glazed tile is not new in Lahore, but the stiff, rigid quality of the design is a marked departure from the free-flowing arabesques of earlier periods.

Under the Sikhs building accelerated considerably. Many new buildings, often faced with marble stripped from older Mughal structures, were erected by the new government and leading Sikh citizens. The styles of these Sikh buildings in Lahore correspond with those found elsewhere in contemporary north India. That is, cusped arches, fluted domes, slender carved columns and curved cornice roofs dominate. For example, the Baradari (Plate 213) in the garden facing Lahore's Badshahi mosque is a delicate marble edifice whose columns and cusped arches belong to the Mughal tradition. This is a square-plan pavilion constructed in 1818 by Ranjit Singh.

The most important Sikh monument is not in Lahore but in Amritsar. This is the Golden temple, commenced in the late eighteenth century and completed largely during the nineteenth century. Situated in the middle of an enormous tank connected to land via a long causeway, the shrine is known as the Harimandir. This two-storied structure is entirely gilt-covered, glistening in the sun and giving the impression of extraordinary opulence. The temple's square plan and two-storied elevation surmounted by a small domed pavilion and *chattris* appear to derive from Mughal tomb-types as well as some palaces, for example, the one at Datia (Plate 99). However, the result is characteristic of Sikh shrines alone. Other features, however, such as the fluted domes, curved cornices and multiple small domes that surmount the shrine's parapet are pan-Indian devices of this period that transcend sectarian lines.

The Mughals lost control of Agra and its surrounding area to the Jats early in the eighteenth century. Here the older established Muslim families suffered more than those of Delhi as they were replaced by Jat and Maratha Hindu elites.[9] However, many Muslim artisans still found patronage since the products they originally produced were now demanded by the new Hindu elite, insuring a continuity of style. Little Muslim construction was witnessed

[9] C. Bayly, "Delhi and Other Cities in North India During the 'Twilight'," in R. E. Frykenberg (ed.), *Delhi Through the Ages* (Delhi, 1986), pp. 232–33.

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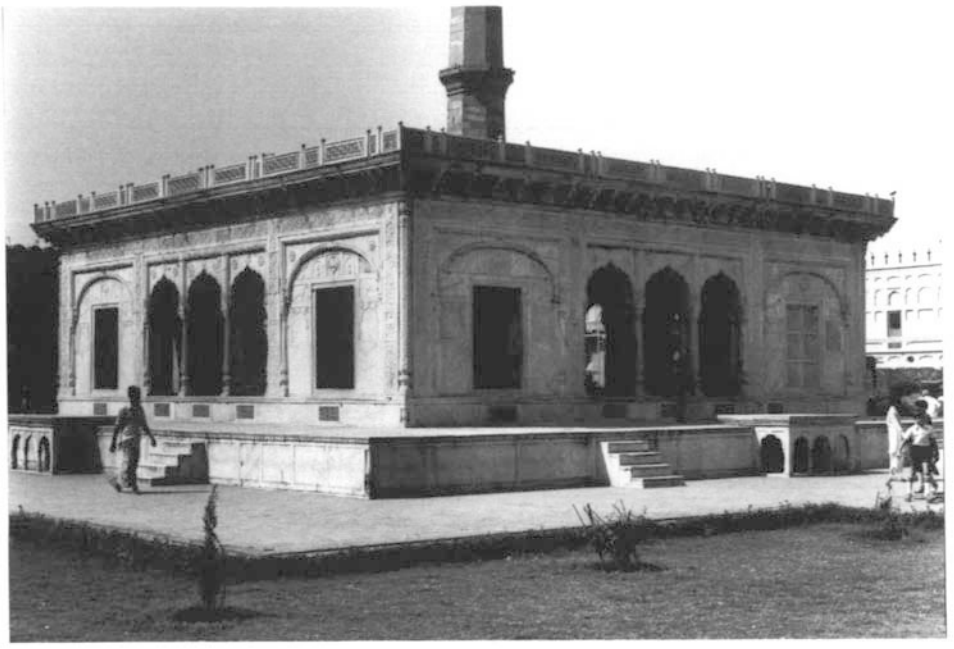

Plate 213. Baradari, Lahore fort

in this area during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but temples, palaces and gardens constructed under Hindu patrons now embellished the Agra region. This area flourished under these new rulers while they constructed their headquarters at Dig, Bharatpur and other localities. The area's association with the birthplace and childhood of Krishna further stimulated its vigorous revitalization. For example, members of the Jaipur royal family are credited with providing a number of temples in Brindavan, while the subsequent Jat rulers of the area also maintained these structures and added their own as well. Nearby at Govardhan multi-storied cenotaphs embellished with cusped arches, *bangala*-roofed pavilions and ribbed domes were built to memorialize the rajas of Bharatpur.

But by far the most impressive work is the palace at Dig in Bharatpur District (Plate 214). It was constructed as the new Jat headquarters under Badan Singh (1722–56) and his family, most notably Suraj Mal (1756–63) and his successors. Although built in several stages and under different patrons, the palace and its garden setting adhere to a symmetrical formality derived from Mughal gardens. A central square *char bagh* is surmounted on all four sides by pavilions, recalling the organization of Mughal gardens. Massive tanks on the north and south ends of the palace complex, however, recall Hindu temples more than any Mughal palace. The palace pavilions are characterized by an air

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of solidity and grace. Badan Singh's portion of the palace, known as the Purana Mahal, consists of a series of rectangular pavilions surmounted by deeply sloped curved roofs topped with spiked finials, creating a highly articulated yet elegant skyline. Another portion of the Dig palace is the Keshav Bhavan, overlooking one of the large tanks. It is a single-storied open building with baluster-like columns supporting cusped arches on each facade. Short and somewhat squat, these fluted columns rise from bases out of which emerge large lotus petals. Not simply a mirror of structures executed at the near-contemporary city of Jaipur, the buildings of Dig appear more substantial, with less emphasis on height. Their reflections mirrored in the nearby tanks, however, lend them an illusionistic quality. Mechanical devices to emulate rain and thunder were incorporated into Dig's architecture. The purpose was to evoke the yearning of lovers, a Hindu theme stimulated by painting and poetry.

Structures at nearby Mathura, built in the nineteenth century during the period of British supremacy there, are of a style similar to contemporary material in Delhi and Rajasthan. Among these is a cenotaph built as a memorial to a deceased Hindu, Parikhji, who died in 1837. In plan it is similar to the octagonal tomb-type of the Lodi and Sur kings. The ornamentation, however, is typical of nineteenth-century architecture here and in Delhi. Cenotaphs such as this were originally associated only with Muslim custom. Then, around the sixteenth century, they were erected by some of the Hindu princely families of Rajasthan to commemorate their ancestors. This cenotaph at Mathura has been adapted to non-royal Hindu use, blurring the distinction in architecture reserved for one religion or another as well as that reserved for the monarch on the one hand and his subjects on the other.

Faizabad and Lucknow: architecture under the nawabs of Awadh

The Mughal governors of Awadh became increasingly independent so that soon after the time of Safdar Jang (d. 1754) ties with central authority remained in name only. The governors administered Awadh from Lucknow, the Mughal headquarters, which soon became the premier city of Awadh. However, Faizabad, some 120 km to the northeast, was the initial residence of Safdar Jang and his immediate successors, the nawabs as they were called, in recognition of their original role as deputies to the Mughal emperor. During the reign of Safdar Jang's successor, Shujaᶜ al-Daula (1754–75), Faizabad became such a significant city that contemporary chronicles, probably exaggerated ones, claim that it equaled Shahjahanabad in beauty and magnificence. Most of the city has long since disappeared, but a mosque and the tombs constructed for Shujaᶜ al-Daula and his wife remain notable reminders of Faizabad's early splendor.

During the initial period of the nawabs' power, buildings were modeled closely on Mughal prototypes, for Delhi, still the center of courtly Muslim

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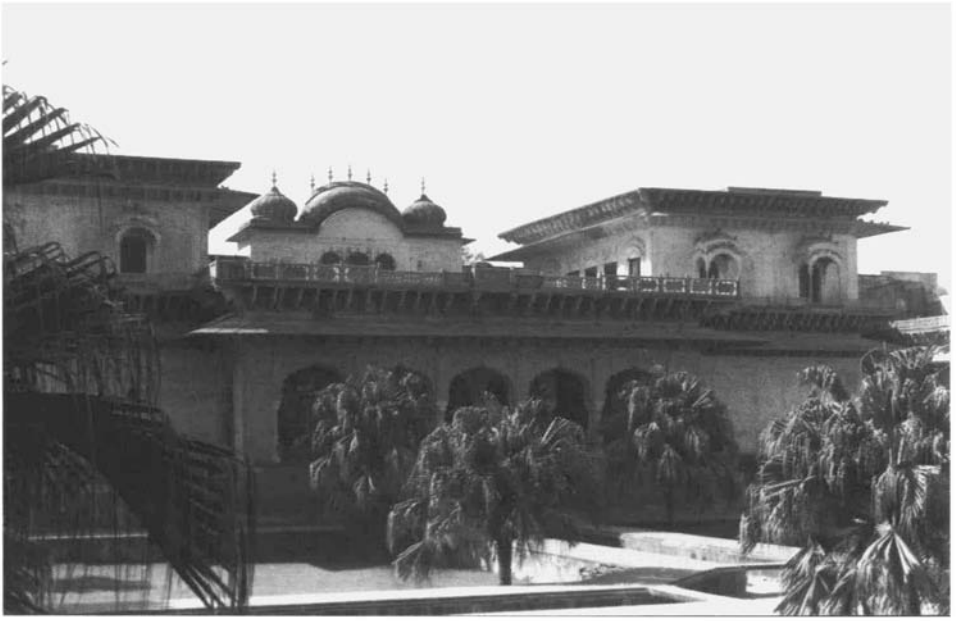

Plate 214. Palace, Dig, Bharatpur District

culture, remained the ideal to emulate. This is evident in buildings of the central market place (*chowk*), commenced about 1765 by Shujaᶜ al-Daula. He provided this *chowk* with an elaborate triple-arched entrance. In the market, Hasan Reza Khan, later to be one of the chief ministers of Awadh, built a mosque, known today as the Chowk mosque (Plate 215). The three bulbous domes and two minarets of this single-aisled three-bayed mosque, situated on a high plinth, dominate the skyline. This emphasis on the building's height recalls Mughal buildings of Aurangzeb's reign (Plate 179). Other aspects, however, relate to more contemporary architecture of Delhi, for example the stucco work above the cusped arches and the ornate treatment of the mosque's parapet (Plates 201 and 204).

Tombs in Faizabad also were inspired by Mughal models; particularly the tomb for Shujaᶜ al-Daula, built about 1775, and one for his wife, Bahu Begum (Plate 216), constructed about forty years later, after her death in 1816, show Mughal features. Both of these tombs, like the tomb of Safdar Jang (Plate 204), Shujaᶜ al-Daula's predecessor, have bulbous domes and are set in *char baghs*. The ornament on these tombs, like that on the Chowk mosque, is deeply rooted in earlier Mughal traditions. At the same time, these tombs reveal original characteristics such as multiple entrances on the facade and elaborate parapets on the roof, significant features in the developing independent Awadhi style.

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Plate 215. Hasan Reza Khan's mosque, known today as the Chowk mosque, Faizabad

Asaf al-Daula, Shujaᶜ al-Daula's son and successor, moved his residence to Lucknow, in part to distance himself from the powerful Bahu Begum. From the time of Asaf al-Daula onwards, that is from 1775 to the abolition of the house of Awadh by the British in 1856, Lucknow remained the seat of the nawabs. Although construction was considerable under the nawabs of Awadh, architecture in Lucknow can be placed generally in two broad categories. Those structures built by the nawabs commencing about the later eighteenth century for their own residences or as public works often reflect considerable European influence, while religious structures are usually based on the architecture of earlier Indo-Islamic houses.

Apart from bridges, whose parts were actually ordered from Europe and then assembled in Lucknow, it is the palace architecture that bears the most noticeable European characteristics. Such features as Paladian-style columns, triangular pediments, and Adam-style fanlights were all widely used in Lucknow's residential architecture. Even structures such as a zenana, whose purpose precluded numerous tall windows on the facade as favored by contemporary Europeans, reflect an awareness of European styles. Instead of windows, the architects provided niches with statues or fresco paintings of

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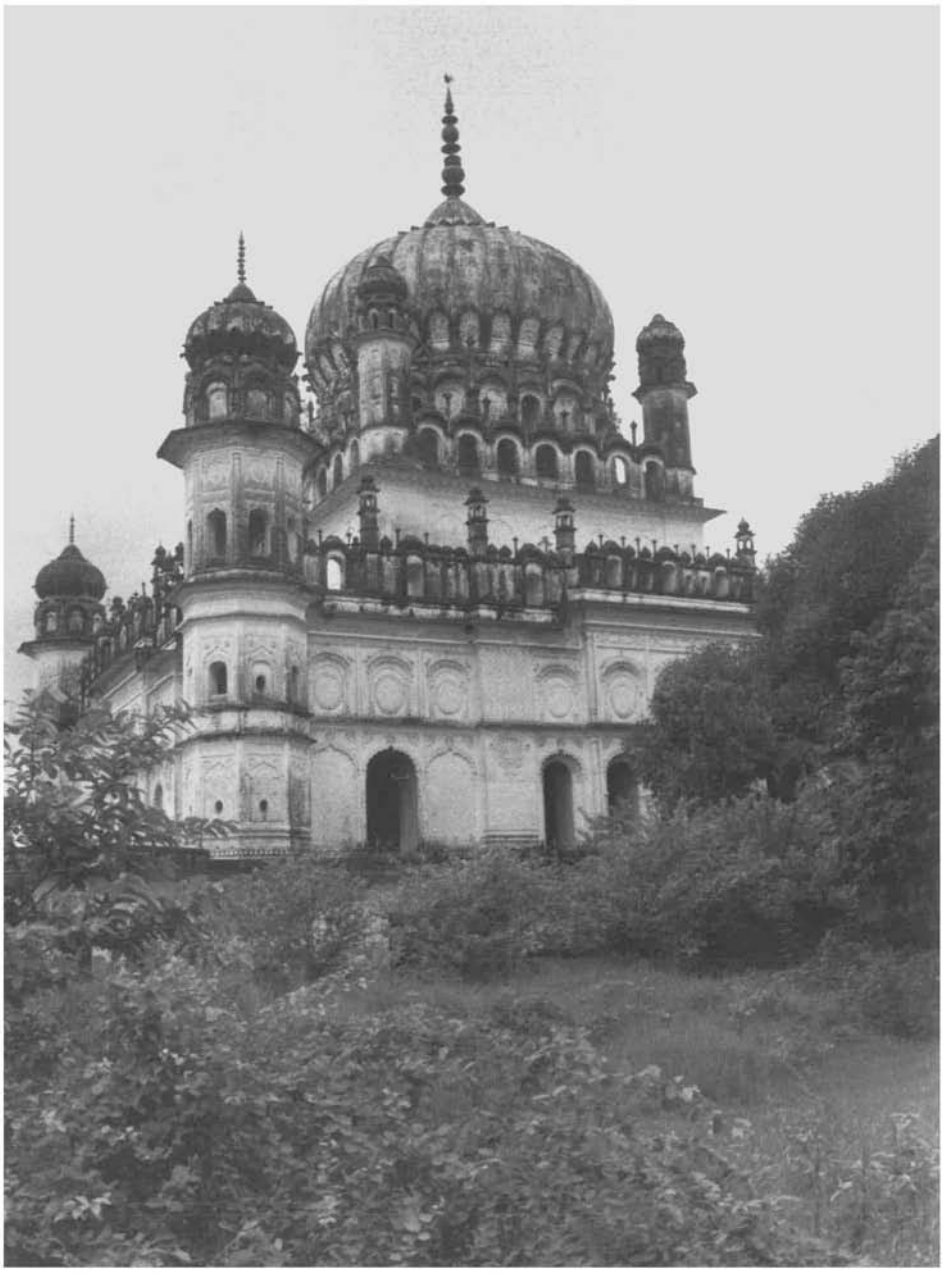

Plate 216. Bahu Begum's tomb, Faizabad

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Plate 217. Gate, Kaiser Bagh in 1858, Lucknow

men.[10] Such ornamentation, however, was only a superficial adaptation of European tradition, for the buildings' interiors continued to follow traditional plans essential to indigenous modes of living. The European features suggest the nawabs' superficial display of regard for the British, yet at the same time an uneasiness with both British dominance and British artistic styles.

A series of palaces was constructed in Lucknow, from Asaf al-Daula's defensively viable Macchi Bhavan, built about 1774, to the Kaiser Bagh, built about 1848 by the last king of Awadh, Wajid ʿAli Shah. Today only isolated structures that once were part of the extravagant palatial Kaiser Bagh complex remain (Plate 217). Highly influenced by European art, the fine ornate stucco work in the shape of fish (the nawabs' royal emblem), and the floral motifs standing out along exaggerated cusped arches, are characteristic of the Kaiser Bagh buildings. While the well-fortified Macchi Bhavan was a symbol of the nawabs' power, the pleasure-garden nature of the last palace, the Kaiser Bagh,

[10] Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *A Fatal Friendship: The Nawabs, the British, and the City of Lucknow* (Delhi, 1985), pp. 146–47.

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Plate 218. Rumi Darwaza, Lucknow

reflected the impotent nature of the politically moribund nawabs.[11] Thus the increasingly extravagant nature of each subsequent palace, culminating in the Kaiser Bagh, must be seen as reflecting a developing need to project an image of strength. The Europeanized mansions in each palace complex perhaps reflected an image of political power, one often more inflated than real.

The nawabs and their architects seem to have felt greater ease in constructing religious structures, even though they were often part of the palace grounds. In 1784 Nawab Asaf al-Daula commenced an enormous Imambara, a hall used during the Shia celebrations of Muharram and for storing movable shrines (*taᶜziya*) used in these ceremonies. This complex adjoined the Macchi Bhavan palace. It was erected to provide work and income for citizens who were suffering from a serious famine. The nawab himself participated in the construction process as an act of religious merit, thereby encouraging even the high-born to labor.[12] The compound consisted of the huge Imambara, a large free-standing mosque, a step-well and elaborate entrance gates. Even in these gates the complex's vast scale is emphasized. Nowhere is this better expressed than in the Rumi Darwaza (Plate 218), the gate serving as the west entrance to the Imambara. This enormous gate's high rounded *pishtaq* is enveloped by a

[11] Llewellyn-Jones, *A Fatal Friendship*, pp. 177–78.
[12] A. H. Sharar, *Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, tr. E. S. Harcourt and F. Husain (Boulder, 1975), p. 47.

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series of projecting green glazed ceramic finials from which water once spouted. Typical of the Awadh nawabs' architecture, the gate was highly creative, characterized by a sense of dynamic articulation never expressed in the more orderly structures of the Mughals.

The Imambara was at the time of its construction a technological achievement, for it had the largest vaulted hall that ever spanned an uninterrupted space. Yet other aspects of Asaf al-Daula's Imambara belong to a vocabulary of standard ornament found on mosques and madrasas throughout north India. For example, it is adorned with magnificently rendered high stucco relief, numerous arches edged with deep cusping and crowned by a parapet of bulbous domes. While these features, seen on many of Lucknow's religious buildings, are arranged in a manner unique to Awadhi architecture, they are all established forms used earlier on Mughal and other Islamic buildings. Thus in the architecture of Lucknow, just as in the other well-established Muslim house of north India, Murshidabad, long-standing Islamic forms served as the basis of religious structures, while European sources stood behind administrative and residential structures. European forms were meticulously avoided for religious architecture. Rather, the models for religious buildings were structures that had been erected by earlier Indo-Islamic houses. These models were, however, associated not with a dynasty but with the very essence of Islam.

Benares

Mughal rulers held Benares until the mid-eighteenth century, when the city and the region around it fell to Hindu zamindars who had been awarded the title raja by the Mughal emperor. The new ruler's authority, however, was less than absolute, for the territory held by the Benares raja was under the larger umbrella of the East India Company. Construction in Benares by Muslims diminished during this period. Although mosques continued to be built, the most noteworthy Islamic structure is the tomb of Laᶜl Khan (Plate 219), dated 1768-69. It overlooks the Ganges at the site where today the Mughal Serai bridge spans the river. The form of this square-plan tomb surmounted by a dome and four *chattris* is highly conservative, adhering closely to Mughal-period monuments. Glazed-tile decoration on the tomb's surface produces a striking polychrome effect. While glazed-tile embellishment is not generally associated with Mughal and post-Mughal architecture in eastern India, it is also used in a mosque almost precisely contemporary in date, the one built by Mir Ashraf, dated 1773, in Patna. There, however, the tiles are on the floor.

In Benares, the most sacred of all Hindu cities, temples were erected in prolific numbers during the late Mughal period and the years of rule by zamindars. Most important of these was the Vishvanath temple, whose predecessor had been razed by Aurangzeb. A small structure, with delicate reduplicated spires that emphasize the temple's height, it was once again

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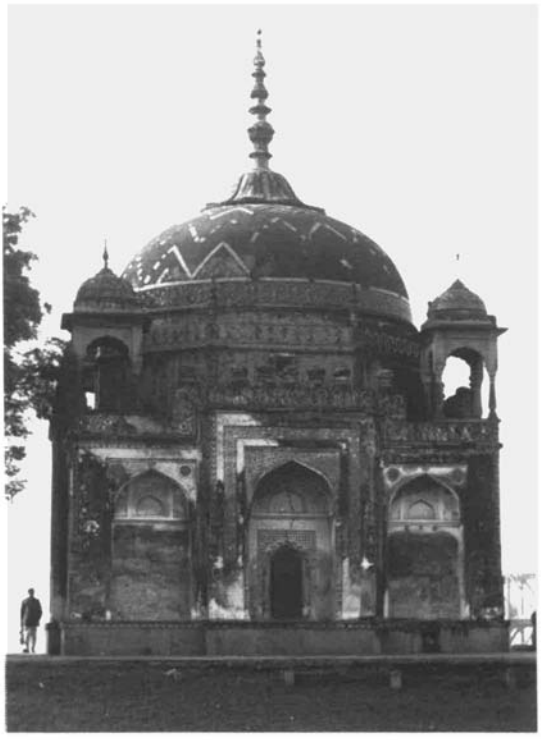

Plate 219. Tomb of Laʿl Khan, Benares

revitalized as the major site of pilgrimage in the holy city. In addition to temples, the ghats, often leading from massive edifices facing the waterfront, were built by Hindu rajas, some residing at a considerable distance, as a means of establishing their own standing in this sacred city.

Eastern India

Bihar

The finest late Mughal mausolea in Bihar are modeled on the tombs of Iftikhar Khan in Chunar and Shah Daulat in Maner, each built during Jahangir's reign (Plates 89–92). Among these are tombs built for Shamsher Khan (Plate 220) and Ibrahim Husain Khan, both following the plan and elevation of the tombs from Jahangir's time but embellished with motifs characteristic of eighteenth-century ornament. That is, each tomb has a domed central chamber surrounded by an open veranda. Ibrahim Husain Khan's tomb in Bhagalpur bears no date, but its interior and exterior walls, ornately articulated with stucco ornament, reflect the increased surface elaboration seen in much eighteenth-century architecture across north India. Also showing the new motifs is Shamsher Khan's

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Plate 220. Tomb of Shamsher Khan, Shamshernagar

tomb. Among these new features is the dome's high drum with screens that are surmounted by *bangala* roofs. Shamsher Khan served for some time as governor of Patna (then known as ᶜAzimabad) during the reign of Shah ᶜAlam Bahadur Shah. He, like his uncle, Daᶜud Khan, founded a town in his own name, Shamshernagar, not far from Daudnagar. There he built his own tomb, a serai and well before his death in 1712. Only the tomb remains.

In contrast to the fine late Mughal mausolea of Bihar is the austere Jamiᶜ mosque of Silao in Nalanda District. This single-aisled three-bayed mosque, constructed in 1741-42 by a father and son, Sayyid Muhammad and Sayyid Ghulam Najaf, is enclosed by high walls, not common in eastern India at this time. On each of the exterior walls are inscriptions, again unusual. Like the exterior, the mosque's interior is sparsely ornamented. Cusped mihrabs and a more complex form of pendentives than seen before in Bihar are the sole decorative devices. The contrast with such contemporary monuments as Ibrahim Husain Khan's tomb in Bhagalpur indicates that in eighteenth-century Bihar no single ornamental style prevailed, probably because there was no single strong patron or model.

Patna remained Bihar's leading commercial center. The city was even enlarged under Prince ᶜAzim al-Shan, governor of Bihar in the early eighteenth century. He renamed the city ᶜAzimabad, proclaiming his desire to create a

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Plate 221. Mosque of Mir Ashraf, Patna

second Delhi. His efforts failed, as did his bid for the throne, but Patna still continued to benefit from the patronage of political figures and wealthy merchants. Among the structures they provided, the most elegant is the mosque of Mir Ashraf (Plate 221), constructed by a Patna businessman in 1773–74. Its articulated facade with petal-like *kungura*, cartouches and arched niches is characteristic of those seen throughout India in the eighteenth century. The interior, too, is ornate, for cartouches and arch motifs embellish the walls and dome. The floor of the prayer chamber is composed of multi-colored tiles of the sort used on pre-Mughal Bengali structures. This unique flooring is in keeping with the mosque's articulated surfaces, related to that of contemporary architecture in Murshidabad, for example, Munni Begum's Chowk mosque built in 1767 (Plate 224).

Whether ornate or austere, religious architecture in Bihar, as in Awadh and Murshidabad, reveals virtually no European influence. There is no better example than the Bawli Hall mosque (Plate 222) on the estate of a nineteenth-century residence. The mosque's central facade has a tri-lobed entrance arch and a parapet of domed *kungura*, recalling features of the 1841–42 mosque of Hamid ᶜAli Khan, Delhi's last significant Mughal mosque (Plate 207). No European forms are used on the Bawli Hall mosque; rather, its design reflects contemporary work at the Mughal capital more than anything seen in the closer centers of Awadh and Murshidabad. By contrast, the residence reveals

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Plate 222. Bawli Hall mosque, Patna

considerable European influence following patterns set forth in Lucknow and Murshidabad. Bawli Hall, the nineteenth-century residence of Nawab Luft ᶜAli Khan, was once an extensive mansion little different from contemporary British buildings in India. Now abandoned, it shows the extent that British architecture served as the model for houses of important figures in later Mughal successor states.

Bengal: architecture under the nawabs of Murshidabad

The architectural landscape of Bengal after Aurangzeb's death was dominated by three active groups, each responsible for different forms and types of buildings. Wealthy Hindu bankers, landholders and merchants built splendid terracotta temples in unprecedented numbers. An entire new city, Calcutta, developed under the British in a European idiom. Concurrently the Mughals and their successors, the nawabs of Murshidabad, embellished their own capital, only 200 km north of Calcutta.

Under previous Mughal rulers the capital of Bengal had fluctuated between Rajmahal and Dhaka. In 1703 Murshid Quli Khan, a high-ranking amir, shifted the administrative center from Dhaka to Murshidabad. By 1717 he had given himself unprecedented powers, paving the eventual break with the Mughal court. Murshid Quli Khan never ceased to regard himself as a Mughal agent,

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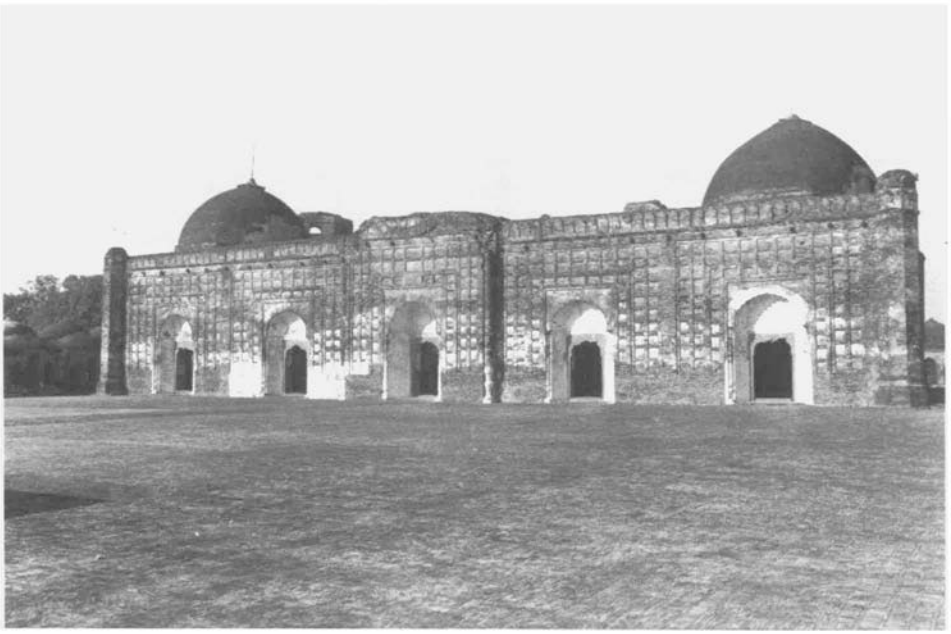

Plate 223. Jamiᶜ mosque, known as the Katra mosque, Murshidabad

even though he manifested signs of independence. For example, he annually remitted revenue to the imperial court in Delhi, but named the new Mughal capital after himself, in contrast with the earlier Mughal capitals of Bengal, Rajmahal and Dhaka, that initially had been named Akbarnagar and Jahangirnagar for the ruling Mughal monarchs.

Murshid Quli Khan's first architectural project in this new city was a Jamiᶜ mosque (Plate 223) constructed in 1724–25.[13] This impressive structure, originally surmounted by five domes, is today known as the Katra mosque. Its single-aisled plan is typical of the Mughal idiom in Bengal. However, several features recall the ornamentation of pre-Mughal Bengali architecture, for example, the facade's numerous niches. The mosque thus stands in contrast to the more refined buildings developed in Bengal during the time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb (Plates 154, 187 and 188). This break with the Mughal ornamental style parallels the patron's assertion of independence.

Surrounding the mosque are domed cloistered chambers used as a madrasa. The construction of this madrasa-cum-mosque, one of the very largest

[13] For illustrations and full analysis, see Catherine B. Asher, "Inventory of Key Monuments," in Michell (ed.), *The Islamic Heritage of Bengal*, 87–104, this author's "The Mughal and Post-Mughal Periods," 206-11, in the same volume, and her forthcoming study, "Murshidabad: Regional Revival and Islamic Continuity," in A. L. Dallapiccola and S. Zingel-Ave Lallemant (eds.), *Islam and Indian Regions, 1000–1750 A.D.*, forthcoming.

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mosques in all Bengal, endows the city that hitherto held little religious significance with a dominant sacred importance – possibly an attempt to rival the traditional centers of piety in Bengal, Gaur and Pandua.

Less than fifty years later another Jamiᶜ mosque (Plate 224) was constructed by Munni Begum, the *de facto* ruler and highly influential wife of the recently deceased Nawab Mir Jaᶜfar. Known as the Chowk mosque, this elegant structure was built in 1767–68 in the tradition of Mughal, not pre-Mughal, mosques. The graduated size of the five rounded domes and two end-vaults flanked by slender minarets yield an overall appearance of restrained majesty. The interior and exterior are embellished with thickly applied plaster ornament. While more elaborate than that on the earlier Burdwan tomb, stucco ornamentation on structures erected under the Murshidabad nawabs remains considerably more subdued than that on buildings built by the nawabs of Awadh. The Chowk mosque, constructed at the height of Munni Begum's influence, was the most important religious structure in the city. Located on the ground of Murshid Quli Khan's former audience hall, this mosque may have been envisioned as the focal point for a politically rejuvenated Murshidabad under Munni Begum's leadership. In fact, however, the real power of Munni Begum and the succeeding nawabs had been eclipsed by the British.

From this time on, many mosques modeled on Munni Begum's were built in the city, although the embellishing motifs are less ornate. These mosques were almost always inscribed with the name of a patron, otherwise unknown, but never the name of the ruling nawab or British overlord. This suggests that mosques were no longer built as a means of gaining the favor of the ruler or of a powerful figure.

While mosques were the building type most commonly constructed in Murshidabad, two important religious complexes, each associated with the Shia sect, were built under private patronage in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. One is the Husainiya, located on the east bank of the Bhagirathi, in close proximity to the palace. This structure was intended to house portable models (*taᶜziya*) of a building associated with the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson, which were carried in procession at the time of Muharram. The Murshidabad Husainiya was commenced in 1804–05 and enlarged in 1854-55. A highly placed court eunuch, ᶜAmber ᶜAli Khan, was responsible for the initial construction, while another, Darab ᶜAli Khan, was responsible for the later enlargement. Although they built the Husainiya as private citizens, they were nevertheless intimately linked with the court. The construction and renovation of a Husainiya facilitated the celebration of a religious rite observed in Shia Islam, the sect followed by the Murshidabad nawabs. The celebration of such rites appears to have become an increasingly important aspect of official ceremony under the Murshidabad nawabs. Since all important secular and political ritual was controlled by the East India

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Plate 224. Munni Begum's Jamiᶜ mosque, known as the Chowk mosque, Murshidabad

Company, it is not surprising that the nawabs might seek to foster religious ceremony. In Awadh, too, the nawabs promoted religious ceremony, having largely lost their authority over secular ritual.

Patronage by court eunuchs also was provided at Murshidabad's Qadam Sharif complex. The principal structure there is a shrine housing an impression said to be that of the Prophet Muhammad's foot. It was built in 1788–89 by Itwar ᶜAli Khan, chief eunuch of Nawab Mir Jaᶜfar. This impression, said to be from Arabia, was removed from a shrine in Gaur; before that it had been housed in nearby Pandua. These cities each had served as the capital of the independent sultans of Bengal before Mughal times. In Gaur, the shrine housing this impression had been the focus of the city's sacral significance. Erected during the Husain Shahi dynasty, its importance continued into the Mughal period. Thus the transfer of the footprint to Murshidabad was intended to bolster the religious status of the city, whose administrative and economic role had been badly undermined six years earlier when government offices were shifted to Calcutta. Just as Murshid Quli Khan, the first nawab of Murshidabad, had attempted to transfer to Murshidabad the sacral significance that had been associated with Gaur, so, too, in the late eighteenth century, when the city's importance was greatly diminished, a similar attempt was made. The shrine's significance increased even more after 1858 and into the early

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Plate 225. Murshidabad palace, Murshidabad

twentieth century, when it was revitalized in an attempt to infuse new life into this waning city, now almost entirely eclipsed by British power centered in Calcutta.

By the early nineteenth century, Murshidabad was the nawab's residence, nothing more. His powers continually reduced, he had to rely on the East India Company for his paltry annual stipend. The nawabs' utter dependence on the British is reflected in the residence of the nawab (Plate 225) constructed between 1829 and 1837. Designed by a European, Duncan McLeod, it follows the model of Government House in Calcutta, which in turn was modeled on Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire.

Yet, ten years after the completion of the palace, the nawab built to its north an enormous Imambara signaling his autonomy in matters religious. The Imambara's sheer size – some 80 meters longer than the palace itself – underscores the notion that the patronage of religion and religious rite were among the few means for the nawabs to show authority independent of the British.

According to an inscription, the patron, Nawab Feredun Jah, appointed Sadiq ᶜAli Khan as supervisor for the massive structure. He designed this Imambara, the largest in eastern India, with European features, in keeping with the palace opposite. Thus the appearance of the Imambara, an official structure

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Plate 226. Sadiq ʿAli's mosque, known as the Chotte Chowk-ki Masjid, Murshidabad

part of the palace, stands in marked contrast to the city's privately patronized religious structures, all of which lack European motifs and forms.

That Europeanized features largely were reserved for official architecture is suggested by another mosque (Plate 226) commenced by the same architect who designed the great palace Imambara. This mosque completes an understanding of architecture in Murshidabad. Known as the Chotte Chowk-ki Masjid, it stands in an area earlier associated with Murshid Quli Khan's palace. An inscription over the central entrance ascribes its initial design and construction to Sadiq ʿAli. Since he died in 1850, much of it must have been completed by then. Contrary to what might be expected from the designer of the Imambara, this mosque is devoid of Europeanized features at a time when the near-contemporary mosques of Calcutta reveal considerable European influence. In fact, in plan and elevation it resembles Mughal-period structures in Bengal dating to Shah Jahan's time (Plate 154). That is, its simple cusped arches and plain facades have more in common with earlier Mughal structures than with the ornate facades of early nineteenth-century buildings in Murshidabad. This is characteristic of late non-imperial mosques of Murshidabad, those patronized by persons other than the nawab. They adhere to forms developed in Bengal much earlier in the Mughal period. This suggests that here, as in Awadh, the architectural styles developed under the Mughals

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came, in Mughal splinter states, to be associated with the true architecture of piety, of Islam, and of the old social order, a style that by now had shed association with one or another ruling house. It was a style that stood in contrast to that built by the rulers, increasingly dominated by Britain as much in their architecture as in their authority.

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Other sources for material discussed here as well as in subsequent chapters include Alexander Cunningham (ed.), *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* (*ASIR*), 23 vols., Calcutta, 1871–87. In addition there are numerous reports and series issued by the Archaeological Survey of India which will be cited in specific contexts throughout this essay. However, of particular value for historical inscriptions on these monuments are the *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*) and *Epigraphia Indica: Arabic and Persian Supplement* (*EIAPS*). These sources are invaluable, but for descriptive rather than analytic material.

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[1] Citations are given in full at the first mention; thereafter usually only the author's last name and a shortened title are cited.

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Muqarnas, 1, 1983, have published an insightful typological survey of imperial Tughluq monuments. Although in Japanese, extensive documentation for twelfth- through mid-sixteenth-century Delhi monuments is in Tatsura Yamamoto, Matsuo Ara and Tokifusa Tsukinowa, *Delhi: Architectural Remains of the Delhi Sultanate Period*, 3 vols., Tokyo, 1967–70.

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palace is badly needed. To date, G. H. R. Tillotson, *The Rajput Palaces*, New Haven, 1987, provides the best discussion.

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2 THE BEGINNINGS OF MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE

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To date almost all scholarship on Mughal architecture has focused on imperially sponsored works; non-imperial works have been sorely ignored. Zafar Hasan, *A Guide to Nizamu-d Din*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 10, Calcutta, 1922, discusses the restoration of Amir Khusrau's tomb during this early Mughal period. References to other non-imperially sponsored structures are in the easily available Y. D. Sharma, *Delhi and its Neighbourhood*, 2nd ed., New Delhi, 1974, which is based on the exhaustive *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments: Delhi Province*, 4 vols., Calcutta, 1916–22. Here descriptions of nearly all surviving monuments are provided, but no analysis. Hereafter this work will be known as *List*. For monuments outside of Delhi during this period the *ASIR* is invaluable; Subhash Parihar, *Mughal Monuments in Punjab and Haryana*, New Delhi, 1985, provides a useful, although not comprehensive, annotated list. Mehrdad and Natalie Shokoohy, *Hisar-i Firuza*, London, 1988, is a good source for detailed plans and photographs of early Mughal monuments in Hisar District. Inscriptional evidence for non-imperial construction at this time is given by Paul Horn, "Muhammadan Inscriptions from the Subah of Delhi," *Epigraphia Indica*, II, 1884, although it appears that many of these inscriptions are no longer *in situ*.

3 THE AGE OF AKBAR

For all aspects of Akbar's reign, including his architecture, the most thorough accounts are by Abu al-Fazl: *Akbar Nama* and his *A'in-i Akbari* that was written as an administrative manual as part of the *Akbar Nama*. An invaluable but unofficial history of Akbar's reign is by al-Badayuni, *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh* (tr.), 3 vols., reprint ed., Patna, 1973, a courtier in the Mughal court whose writings on Akbar's attitudes toward Hinduism must be read cautiously. Important secondary sources that aid our overall understanding of Akbar's attitudes toward kingship and ultimately of his architectural patronage include S. A. A. Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign*, Delhi, 1975, J. F. Richards, "The Formulation of Imperial Authority under Akbar and Jahangir," in J. F. Richards (ed.), *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, Madison, 1978, and Iqtidar Alam Khan, "The Nobility under Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy, 1560–80," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1–2, 1968.

Many of the monuments in this chapter are discussed and illustrated in texts

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mentioned previously: Brown, *Indian Architecture, Islamic Period*, his essay in the original *Cambridge History* and Hoag, *Islamic Architecture*. Another easily available source with good plans and illustrations is Andreas Volwahsen, *Living Architecture: Islamic Indian*, New York, 1970.

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Akbar's palaces have received varied treatment. Recently contemporary passages that mention Akbar's palaces, largely from Persian texts including one never before translated, have been compiled by Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry (eds.), *Fatehpur-Sikri: A Sourcebook*, Cambridge, 1985. Hereafter this compilation will be known as *Sourcebook*. The classic source for Akbar's palaces at Ajmer remains Har Bilas Sarda, *Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive*, Ajmer, 1911, who provides considerable information, but little analysis. Plans and illustrations for the better known of the two Ajmer palaces are in Hoag, *Islamic Architecture*, while the only published illustration of the Badshahi Mahal is in Ebba Koch, "Influence of Mughal Architecture," in George Michell (ed.), *Ahmadabad*, Bombay, 1988. Muhammad Wali Ullah Khan, *Lahore and its Important Monuments*, 2nd ed., Karachi, 1964, explains that there are very few surviving Akbari buildings in the Lahore fort. Ebba Koch, "The Architectural Forms," in Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry (eds.), *Fatehpur Sikri*, Bombay, 1987, is the only recent scholar to consider the pavilion in the Allahabad fort. William G. Klingelhofer, "The Jahangiri Mahal of the Agra Fort: Expression and Experience in Early Mughal Architecture," *Muqarnas*, 5, 1988, is the most recent study of Akbar's surviving palace in the Agra fort. For a discussion of the fort's exterior walls and entrance gates as well as superb illustrations, see Oscar Reuther, *Indische Palaste und Wohnhaüser*, Berlin, 1925. Sources on the buildings in Bengal and Gujarat that influenced the development of these palaces as well as Fatehpur Sikri are cited in the bibliographic essay for chapter 1.

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authors' attempts to define the purpose of each pavilion as well as their discussion of their conscious use of Hindu forms should be read with caution. The waterworks at the site have been documented in detail by Petruccioli, *Fathpur Sikri, Città del Sole e delle Acque*. The proceedings of a seminar on Fatehpur Sikri by Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry (eds.), *Fatehpur-Sikri*, Bombay, 1987, reflects recent scholarship on the site; of particular merit for the study of architecture are the articles by Ebba Koch, "The Architectural Forms"; Attilio Petruccioli, "The Geometry of Power: The City's Planning"; Glenn D. Lowry, "Urban Structures and Functions," and John F. Richards, "The Imperial Capital." In conjunction with the seminar, the same editors produced the *Sourcebook*, which deals mostly with Fatehpur Sikri. Although not concerned with architecture, Iqtidar Alam Khan, "The Nobility under Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy," provides valuable insight into Akbar's political concerns during the period that much of Fatehpur Sikri was under construction.

While the imperially sponsored architecture of the Mughals has been increasingly the subject of analytic study, sub-imperial architectural patronage remains virtually untouched by recent scholars. This present author's "Sub-Imperial Patronage: The Architecture of Raja Man Singh," in Barbara Stoler Miller (ed.), *The Powers of Art: Patronage in Indian Culture*, New Delhi, 1992, the only case study of this sort, evaluates the moti.es behind types of construction by one leading member of Akbar's court. In addition to contemporary histories cited above, Mughal biographies of the leading nobles, such as Farid Bhakkari, *Dhakhirat al-Khawanin*, 3 vols., Karachi, 1961–74, and Samsam al-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan and ᶜAbd al-Hayy, *Maasir al-Umara* (tr.), 2 vols., reprint ed., Patna, 1979, provide considerable data regarding the nobility and their construction. The first work is available in Persian only, but Z. A. Desai is preparing an English translation that will be available shortly. The latter work hereafter will be known as *Maasir*.

Secondary material on sub-imperial work is cited in various sources, but often only in passing or in a context where the buildings are of secondary importance. Z. A. Desai, *Published Muslim Inscriptions of Rajasthan*, Jaipur, 1971, is an invaluable resource listing by site all known inscriptions there. The full text of the Nagaur Jamiᶜ mosque's inscription is in A. Chaghtai, "Some Inscriptions from Jodhpur State, Rajputana," *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1949–50*. For earlier material in Nagaur, see *ASIR*: XXIII. Ajmer and its environment has been more thoroughly studied than Nagaur, although it is the inscriptions, rather than the monuments themselves, that have attracted the most attention. S. A. I. Tirmizi, *Ajmer through Inscriptions (1532–1852 A.D.)*, New Delhi, 1968, provides an excellent historical background to the buildings. Sarda, *Ajmer*, is the best source for non-imperial monuments and remains extremely useful in spite of the paucity of analysis and illustrations. The Baroda tomb is most recently published by E. Koch, "Influence of Mughal Architecture," in Michell (ed.), *Ahmadabad*, cited above. For Akbar-period work at Mandu, see Yazdani's *Mandu*.

Information on monuments in Hasan Abdal and other sites in modern Pakistan is difficult to procure. The *ASIR* is useful. S. R. Dar has prepared volumes of photographs and plans of Mughal-period monuments in Pakistan. These volumes are not yet published, but available at the Lahore Museum. They provide invaluable data about structures otherwise undocumented.

Published material on monuments of Akbar's period in north India is available, although it is generally descriptive rather than analytical. Better understood than many works is the tomb of Muhammad Ghaus, almost invariably included in texts on the history of Indo-Islamic architecture: Brown and Hoag, for example. Buildings at

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Narnaul and other sites in Haryana and Punjab are included in Parihar, *Mughal Monuments in Punjab and Haryana*, essentially an annotated list. Although considerably older, G. Yazdani, "Narnaul and its Buildings," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, III, 1907, remains highly useful. ʿAbd al-Haqq Muhaddis Dehlavi, *Akhbar al-Akhiyar*, Deoband, n.d., completed in 1619, contains useful information on saints buried in Narnaul. Comparative material in the Deccan is in Desai, "Architecture," in *History of the Medieval Deccan*, Vol. II. Lowry, "Delhi in the 16th Century," considers sub-imperial work there. M. C. Joshi, "Bada Batashewala-Mahal: A Study," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, I, 1977–78, provides an in-depth study of this monument.

Eastern India, like other regions, is the subject of numerous articles and archaeological site lists, but modern interpretations are badly needed. The classic source for Jaunpur remains Fuhrer, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, and J. Burton-Page, "Djawnpur," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, illustrates nineteenth-century drawings of a now destroyed palace pavilion there. Recently Iqbal Ahmad Jaunpuri, *History of Sharqi Rulers and Sufis of Jaunpur*, Jaunpur [1988], has produced a massive tome in Urdu that includes Akbar-period buildings not published elsewhere. Akbar's fort at Chunar remains virtually unstudied, although A. F. C. de Cosson, "Chunar," *Bengal Past and Present*, IV, 1909, provides useful illustrations. One inscription at Chunar is included in *ARIE*, 1970–71. Robert Skelton, "Shaykh Phul and the Origins of Bundi Painting," in Anand Krishna (ed.), *Chhavi – 2*, Benares, 1981, gives proof that students of the painter ʿAbd al-Samad worked in Chunar.

For Bihar, Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments Protected Under Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. LI, Calcutta, 1931, remains the standard source. Also valuable is D. R. Patil, *The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar*, Patna, 1963. Inscriptions and much useful historical information is in Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *Corpus of Persian and Arabic Inscriptions of Bihar*, Patna, 1973. This present author's "From Anomaly to Homogeneity" analyzes the development of a standard mosque type in Bihar during Akbar's reign. Asher's *Islamic Monuments of Eastern India* provides extensive documentation for the monuments of Bihar and Bengal.

In addition to general works on Bengal cited in the essay for chapter 1, this author's "Inventory of Key Monuments," in George Michell (ed.), *The Islamic Heritage of Bengal*, Paris, 1984, covers the Akbar-period works. Included in the same volume, her article "The Mughal and Post-Mughal Periods" deals with the development of mosque architecture there. Although not comprehensive, Shamsud-Din Ahmed, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. IV, Rajshahi, 1960, provides the text of many Mughal-period inscriptions.

4 JAHANGIR: AN AGE OF TRANSITION

Nur al-Din Muhammad Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri* (tr.), 2 vols., reprint ed., Delhi, 1968, the emperor's personal memoirs, is the most immediate source for Jahangir's attitude toward buildings and gardens. Hereafter this work will be called *Tuzuk*. Other contemporary histories, such as Husaini Kamgar, *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri*, Delhi, 1978, contain important information not found elsewhere, for example, that Akbar at his death designated Jahangir his successor. Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, London, 1922, remains the best secondary treatment of Jahangir's reign and contains many useful references to architectural projects. Well-known monuments such as Akbar's tomb and the tomb of Iʿtimad al-Daula are included in standard art historical sources: the two

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works by Brown, and Hoag, *Islamic Architecture*, all mentioned previously. Most of the monuments discussed in this chapter, however, are not sufficiently well known to be included in such standard sources.

Jahangir's early architectural patronage is considered in no single source. The inscriptions on the black throne and the Agra fort are in M. A. Husain, "Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in the Agra Fort," *EIAPS*, 1951–52. The career of the throne's calligrapher is traced in an important forthcoming article, Z. A. Desai, "Inscription on the Mausoleum of Mir Abdullah Mushkin-Qalam at Agra." The only modern consideration of Jahangir and the Allahabad pillar is by this present author, "Jahangir and the Reuse of Pillars," in M. C. Joshi (ed.), *Archaeological Survey of India Commemoration Volume*, New Delhi, forthcoming. Contemporary references to early work at Vernag, Hasan Abdal and elsewhere are in Jahangir, *Tuzuk*.

Shah Begum's tomb has not been the focus of any recent study. Its inscription is recorded in Z. A. Desai, "Inscriptions from the Khusraw Bagh, Allahabad," *EIAPS*, 1961, while that on the garden's entrance gate is in Abdulla Chaghtai, "Aqa Riza Musawwar," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 2nd Session*, 1938. Ralph Finch in Samuel Purchas (ed.), *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols., Glasgow, 1905–07: IV, gives contemporary observations on this tomb, and an eighteenth-century illustration by the Daniells in Mildred Archer, *Early Views of India*, London, 1980, gives an indication of its original appearance. Akbar's tomb has attracted considerably more attention, although an interpretative monograph is still needed. Edmund W. Smith, *Akbar's Tomb, Sikandarah*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XXV, Allahabad, 1909, remains the most thorough source for illustrations, description and inscriptions. In a major study, Wayne E. Begley, "Amanat Khan and the Calligraphy on the Taj Mahal," *Kunst des Orients*, XII, 1978–79, traces the career of the gate's calligrapher. R. Nath, *The Immortal Taj Mahal*, Bombay, 1972, discusses the tomb's architectural development. Contemporary comments about the tomb and its site are in the *Akbar Nama* and Jahangir's *Tuzuk*, as well as in Muhammad Baqir Najm-i Sani, *Kulliyat*, India Office Per. Ms. 1330. Comments of Europeans and later observers in Mughal India are particularly valuable. These include: Finch in Purchas, cited above; Sebastien Manrique, *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique* (tr.), 2 vols., Oxford, 1927; Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India, 1653–1708* (tr.), 4 vols., London, 1907–08; and Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, London, 1914. Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i ʿAlamgiri* (tr.), Delhi, 1978, in discussing the tomb's later plunder, gives clues to its meaning and appearance. All Quranic passages included in the tomb's calligraphy are in Abdullah Yusuf Ali (ed. and tr.), *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an*, 2 vols., Cairo, 1938.

The *Tuzuk* indicates the emperor's attitude toward buildings. There he refers to the provision of public works, while A. M. B. Husain, *The Manara in Indo-Islamic Architecture*, Dacca, 1970, provides a list of the surviving *kos minars*. Nur Bakhsh, "The Agra Fort and its Buildings," *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1903–04*, Calcutta, 1906, includes translations of Mughal texts discussing Jahangir's construction at the Agra fort; however, David Price (tr.), *Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangueir*, London, 1829, and reprinted several times since, is probably based on a spurious manuscript. M. A. Husain, "Inscriptions in the Agra Fort," provides important information on the fort. Sculptures of the defeated rana of Mewar and his son are discussed by Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, and Sajida S. Alvi, "Religion and State During the Reign of the Mughal Emperor (1605–27): Nonjuristical Perspectives," *Studia Islamica*, LXIX, 1989. Similar images said to be from Akbar's time are in Michael Brand and Glenn D.

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Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory*, New York, 1985. William Hawkins' discussion of the Agra Fort is in Purchas: III, while Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, London, 1932, a major work, documents the Jesuits' awareness of court ceremony. Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Grand Mogul: Imperial Painting in India, 1600–1660*, Williamstown, 1978, publishes an illustration intended for the *Jahangir Nama* with European subjects on the emperor's throne. In a pivotal study, Ebba Koch, "The Influence of the Jesuit Mission on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors," in C. W. Troll (ed.), *Islam in India, Studies and Commentaries*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1982, discusses the new-found significance of such European subject matter in an imperial context.

Basic sources for Jahangir's buildings and inscriptions inside the Lahore fort are Nur Bakhsh, "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort and its Buildings," *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1902–03*, Calcutta, 1904; M. W. U. Khan, *Lahore and its Important Monuments*; and Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains, and Antiquities*, Lahore, 1892. Excellent analytical work on the Kala Burj is by Ebba Koch, "Jahangir and the Angels: Recently Discovered Wall Paintings under European Influence in the Fort of Lahore," in J. Deppert (ed.), *India and the West*, New Delhi, 1983. For the fort's exterior walls and tile mosaics, see J. P. Vogel, *Tile Mosaics of the Lahore Fort*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XLI, Calcutta, 1920. Ahmad Nabi Khan, "Restoration of the Fresco Decoration at the Mosque of Maryam Zamani at Lahore," *Pakistan Archaeology*, 7, 1970–71, is the only recent work on this important but rarely considered mosque. The tomb of Maryam al-Zamani in Agra is included in most Mughal architecture surveys, although its presumed Lodi origins have never been scrutinized. While Anarkali's tomb is included in all the standard works on Lahore, only Muhammad Baqir, *Lahore, Past and Present*, Lahore, 1952, challenges the traditional notion that it entombs a concubine.

Aside from Jahangir's own memoirs, cited above, the two best sources for imperial work at Ajmer and the vicinity remain Tirmizi, *Ajmer through Inscriptions*, and Sarda, *Ajmer*. These two works provide basic data, but little interpretation. Paintings of Jahangir's visits to the shrine of Muʿin al-Din Chishti are in A. K. Das, *Mughal Painting during Jahangir's Time*, Calcutta, 1978, and Beach, *The Grand Mogul*. Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615–19*, 2 vols., London, 1899, who visited the Chesma-i Nur, provides a contemporary description, while ʿAbd al-Hamid Lahauri, *The Padshah Nama*, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1867, indicates that the marble pavilions on the Ana Sagar were commenced under Jahangir. Mandu, Ahmadabad and Agra are described in Jahangir's *Tuzuk*, and for Mughal-period buildings in Mandu see Yazdani, *Mandu*. Jahangir in his memoirs acutely observes Kashmir and its gardens. Illustrations and inscriptions are found in G. M. D. Sufi, *Kashir*, 2 vols., reprint ed., New Delhi, 1974, and Crowe and Haywood, *The Gardens of Mughal India*. In addition to Jahangir's *Tuzuk*, Ahmad Rabbani, "Hiran Munara at Shekhupura," in S. M. Abdullah (ed.), *Armughan-e ʿIlumi, Professor Muhammad Shafiʿ Presentation Volume*, Lahore, 1955, and Ahmad Nabi Khan, "Conservation of the Hiran Minar and Baradari at Sheikhupura," *Pakistan Archaeology*, 6, 1969, provide significant information on his pavilion and minaret at Sheikhupura.

Although it is a topic of major importance, Nur Jahan's patronage is considered in no single source. Francisco Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India: The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert* (tr.), Cambridge, 1925, and Mundy, *Travels of Peter Mundy*, provide valuable information about her patronage and her serai in Agra, known also as Serai Nur Mahal. The empress' serai in the Punjab has been considered with insight by Wayne E. Begley,

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"Four Mughal Caravanserais Built during the Reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan," *Muqarnas*, I, 1983. Ebba Koch, "Notes on the Painted and Sculpted Decoration of Nur Jahan's Pavilions in the Ram Bagh (Bagh-i Nur Afshan) at Agra," in R. Skelton, A. Topsfield, S. Stronge and R. Crill (eds.), *Facets of Indian Art*, London, 1986, presents the best analysis of the queen's Agra garden, although she appears not wholly convinced that the Gul Afshan garden and Nur Afshan garden are two names for the same garden. This queen's most famous project, the tomb of I'timad al-Daula, is in all basic works on Mughal art, but the treatment is generally perfunctory. The tomb's dates and calligrapher as well as a consideration of its vaulting are only in Koch, "Jahangir and the Angels." For the most recent discussion of the origins of *pietra dura*, first seen on this tomb, see Ebba Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus*, Graz, 1988. A carpet design similar to that on the tomb's floor is in Mulk Raj Anand and Hermann Goetz, *Indische Miniaturen*, Dresden, 1967.

Sub-imperial-level architecture outside of the main cities has been badly ignored. However, Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, is a useful source for Ajmer, since he resided there for several years. The best secondary sources on Ajmer have been mentioned earlier: Sarda, *Ajmer*, and Tirmizi, *Ajmer through Inscriptions*. Desai, *Published Muslim Inscriptions of Rajasthan*, is important for inscriptions on monuments outside of Ajmer. The writings of the traveler Finch in Purchas: IV gives insights into monuments he visited in Rajasthan. Daya Ram Sahni, *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairat*, Jaipur, n.d., describes the 'Idgah in Bairat, not noticed elsewhere. Work in Ahmadabad has had somewhat better coverage than Mughal architecture in Rajasthan. The most comprehensive source for monuments in Ahmadabad remains Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, although recently superior illustrations were published in John Burton-Page, "Mosques and Tombs," in George Michell (ed.), *Ahmadabad*, Bombay, 1988. Shaikh Farid's patronage in Gujarat is mentioned in Persian sources: *Maasir*, Farid Bhakkari, *Dhakhirat al-Khawanin*, and 'Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i Ahmadi* (tr.), Baroda, 1965. For Wajih al-Din, see al-Badayuni, *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh*. M. A. Chaghatai, "Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad through their Inscriptions," *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, III, 1942, is invaluable for inscriptions there.

'Inayat Khan, *The Shah Jahan Nama of 'Inayat Khan* (tr.; ed. by W. E. Begley and Z. A. Desai), Delhi, 1990, discusses Jahangir's orders for the nobility to build serais en route to Kashmir. For illustrations of them see Ram Chandra Kak, *Antiquities of Bhimbar and Rajauri*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 14, Calcutta, 1923. The writings of Finch, Richard Steel and John Crowther, all in Purchas: IV, have many useful comments about Lahore and the road to Delhi and Agra. Abdul Kahir Muhammad Farooqui, *Roads and Communications in Mughal India*, Delhi, 1977, identifies the main roads and serais through the empire. Begley, "Four Mughal Caravanserais," and S. Parihar, "The Mughal Serai at Doraha – Architectural Study," *East and West*, 37, 1987, are the major sources for Serai Doraha. Parihar, *Mughal Monuments in Punjab and Haryana*, provides useful data for monuments covered here. *ASIR*: XIV gives plans of the tombs at Nakodar; however, the labels are reversed. The serai at Chatta merits study, but for now the best source is F. S. Growse, *Mathura: A District Memoir*, reprint ed., Ahmedabad, 1978.

For Delhi detailed data, though without interpretation, is in the *List*. Other books, more descriptive than analytical, to consult are: Carr Stephen, *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, reprint ed., Delhi, n.d., and Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar al-Sanadid*, reprint ed., Delhi, 1956. Hasan, *Nizamu-d Din*, remains the standard

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English source for the famous shrine. An outstanding volume in Japanese is Matsuo Ara, *Dargahs in Medieval India*, Tokyo, 1977. For Mirza ʿAziz Koka's patronage, see the *Maasir*, and also Bhakkari, *Dhakhirat al-Khawanin* and A. M. Khan, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*. For Shaikh Farid, see the sources noted above under Ahmadabad, as well as *ARIE*, 1970–71, for his work at Faridabad. Agra is poorly documented for this period. Edmund W. Smith, *Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. xxx, Allahabad, 1901, remains the only detailed source for the Kanch Mahal and Suraj Bhan-ka Bagh. Muʿtamad Khan's mosque is only mentioned in passing, for example in Syad Muhammad Latif, *Agra, Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta, 1896.

The most important Jahangir-period work in Allahabad, the tombs in the Khusrau Bagh, is mentioned in several Mughal-period sources, including Manrique, Mundy and Pelsaert. In addition to materials mentioned in the context of Shah Begum's tomb (especially Desai, "Inscriptions from the Khusraw Bagh"), H. Beveridge, "Sultan Khusrau," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907, gives the inscriptions on the interior of these tombs; in the 1908 issue of the same journal, R. P. Dewhurst, 'Inscriptions in the Khusrau Bagh at Allahabad," provides an addendum to Beveridge's comments and translations. R. Skelton, "A Decorative Motif in Mughal Art," in P. Pal (ed.), *Aspects of Indian Art*, Leiden, 1972, discusses the source of the flowering motif-type that is painted on the tomb's interior. Archer, *Early Views of India*, reproduces illustrations by the Daniells of the tombs in Khusrau Bagh as well as the *dargah* of Shah Qasim Sulaiman in Chunar. Thomas William Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, rev. ed., London, 1894, gives information about the Chunar saint. For his shrine, see A. Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. xii, Allahabad, 1891, as well as de Cosson, "Chunar," and D. L. Drake-Brockman (ed.), *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh: Mirzapur*, Allahabad, 1911, who also mentions the tomb of Iftikhar Khan. For the inscription at Iftikhar Khan's tomb, see *ARIE*, 1952–53; R. P. Hingorani, *Site Index to the A.S.I. Circle Reports, 1881–1921*, New Delhi, 1978, indicates where the sole published photographs are available. Jahangir, *Tuzuk*, and the *Maasir* provide information on Iftikhar Khan's career.

Architecture in Bihar during Jahangir's reign is best covered in Asher, *Islamic Monuments of Eastern India*. Especially valuable for epigraphic and historical information is Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar*. Also useful are M. H. Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments*, Patil, *The Antiquarian Remains*, and Z. A. Desai, "Architecture," in S. H. Askari and Q. Ahmad (eds.), *Comprehensive History of Bihar*, Vol. ii, part 1, Patna, 1983.

Dani, *Muslim Architecture in Bengal*, remains the standard work for the Jahangir period there. Recent writings by Asher, "Inventory," and "The Mughal and Post-Mughal Traditions," in *The Islamic Heritage of Bengal* include works of this time. The contemporary writings of Mirza Nathan, *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* (tr.), 2 vols., Gauhati, 1936, and John Marshall, *John Marshall in India*, London, 1927, provide insight into the rapid construction of forts and palaces on the part of the rebel prince Shah Jahan. Also useful is Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton), *Journal of Francis Buchanan Kept During the Survey of the District of Bhagalpur in 1810–11*, Patna, 1930.

B. P. Ambastha, *Non-Persian Sources on Indian Medieval History*, Delhi, 1984, gives some insight into non-Muslim architectural patronage under Jahangir, but this area is generally inadequately studied. The most recent work on Datia and Orchha is by

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Tillotson, *The Rajput Palaces*, but Reuther, *Indische Palaste*, still should be consulted. Muhammad Salih Kanbo, *ʿAmal-i Salih*, 3 vols., Lahore, 1967, not only praises these buildings, but also gives insight into political motivations for the subsequent destruction of some of these temples. Bir Singh's Keshava Deva temple at Mathura is discussed by the late seventeenth-century French traveler, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India* (tr.), 2 vols., London, 1925, and by Saqi Mustʿad Khan, *Maasir-i ʿAlamgiri* (tr.), Calcutta, 1947. Growse, *Mathura: A District Memoir*, still remains a good source for the Brindavan temples. Ground-breaking work on Mughal support of these temples is by Tarapada Mukherjee and Irfan Habib, "Akbar and the Temples of Mathura and its Environs," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 48th Session*, Panajim, Goa, 1988 and "The Mughal Administration and the Temples of Vrindavan during the Reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 49th Session*, Dharwad, 1989. The most recent work on Bengal temples in this period is by David McCutchion, "Architecture," in George Michell (ed.), *Brick Temples of Bengal*, Princeton, 1983, although the Kharagpur temples are only in Banerji, "Some Post-Muslim Temples of Bihar."

5 SHAH JAHAN AND THE CRYSTALLIZATION OF MUGHAL STYLE

In contrast to sources for other major Mughal rulers, no complete histories or chronicles of Shah Jahan's reign have been translated into a European language. Lahauri, *Padshah Nama*, the official history of the first twenty years of Shah Jahan's reign, is available in Persian only. Muhammad Waris, *Padshah Nama*, succeeded Lahauri in writing the official history of this reign, but this is available only in manuscript form. These works are especially valuable for architecture, since most imperial projects are described in great detail. Kanbo, *ʿAmal-i Salih*, is an unofficial history of Shah Jahan's entire reign and highly reliable. He, too, describes architectural projects, although more concisely than the official chroniclers. Kanbo is available in an Urdu translation, 2 vols., Lahore, 1971–74. ʿInayat Khan's *The Shah Jahan Nama of ʿInayat Khan* is invaluable for political events, but gives less attention to architecture. Some useful passages on Shah Jahan's architecture taken from contemporary chronicles have been published in various articles. These are cited below in reference to specific monuments. The writings of Europeans visiting Mughal India also provide insight into Shah Jahan and his architecture. For example, François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (tr.), 2nd ed., London, 1914, as well as Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Manrique, *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique*, Mundy, *Travels of Peter Mundy*, and Marshall, *John Marshall in India*, are useful. The best secondary source remains Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dilhi*, Allahabad, 1932, who consulted these and other sources.

Shah Jahan is the most famous Mughal patron of architecture. Many of the monuments in this chapter are discussed and illustrated in works mentioned in the previous chapters: Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Islamic Period*, his "Monuments of the Mughal Period," John Hoag, *Islamic Architecture*, and Andreas Volwahsen, *Living Architecture*, provide general overviews. ʿInayat Khan, *The Shah Jahan Nama*, has many plates.

For Shah Jahan's patronage as a prince, one must consult primary sources and Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*. Shah Jahan's construction of Jahangir's tomb is barely mentioned in Persian sources, remarkable since other projects are detailed. Kanbo provides the most information, while Lahauri mentions it only briefly. Muʿtamad Khan, "Iqbal Nama," in H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson (ed.), *The History of India as Told*

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by its own Historians, 8 vols., London, 1867–77, provides important information regarding the site. J. P. Thompson, "The Tomb of the Emperor Jahangir," *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, I, 1911–12, cites passages from contemporary texts, and remains the best analysis of the tomb's original appearance. Later sources include: M. W. U. Khan, *Lahore and its Important Monuments*, and Baqir, *Lahore, Past and Present*. The location of Nur Jahan's tomb is discussed in the *Maasir*, while the tomb's recent restoration is in "Conservation of Ancient Monuments in West Pakistan," *Pakistan Archaeology*, 7, 1970–71.

In addition to the primary sources, Shah Jahan's patronage at the *dargah* of Muᶜin al-Din and at the Ana Sagar is discussed in sources cited earlier: Sarda, *Ajmer*, and Tirmizi, *Ajmer through Inscriptions*. Also useful is P. M. Currie, *The Shrine and Cult of Muᶜin al-Din Chishti of Ajmer*, Delhi, 1989. Ebba Koch, "The Lost Colonnade of Shah Jahan's Bath in the Red Fort of Agra," *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXIV, 951, 1982, notes that the marble pavilions on the Ana Sagar may not be solely Shah Jahan's, while the best source for plans and illustrations is Reuther, *Indische Palaste*. W. E. Begley, *Monumental Islamic Calligraphy from India*, Villa Park, Illinois, 1985, offers insight into the inscription on the entrance that Shah Jahan provided the *dargah* of Muᶜin al-Din.

Lahauri, Waris and Kanbo are the key sources for Shah Jahan's palace architecture. For construction at the Lahore fort, see Nur Bakhsh, "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort," as well as the relevant sections in Baqir, *Lahore, Past and Present*; they include generous selections from Lahauri and Kanbo. Khan, *Lahore and its Important Monuments*, and Latif, *Lahore*, are also useful. Reuther, *Indische Palaste*, provides good plates of both the Agra and Lahore forts. Excellent analytical studies by Ebba Koch touch on issues of Shah Jahan's work at the Lahore and Agra forts. In addition to her "The Baluster Column – A European Motif in Mughal Architecture and its Meaning," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45, 1982, her other works relevant here, mentioned previously, include "Lost Colonnade," and *Shah Jahan and Orpheus*. Useful methodical studies of Shah Jahan's work at the fort, including excerpts from primary sources, are Nur Bakhsh, "The Agra Fort and its Buildings," and Muhammad Ashraf Husain, *An Historical Guide to the Agra Fort*, Delhi, 1937. Shah Jahan's inscriptions in the Agra fort are in the same author's "Inscriptions in the Agra Fort." Wayne E. Begley, "The Symbolic Role of Calligraphy on Three Imperial Mosques of Shah Jahan's Time" in Joanna G. Williams (ed.), *Kaladarśana*, New Delhi, 1981, offers a new interpretation of the Moti mosque and its inscriptions. The same article also discusses Jahan Ara's Agra Jamiᶜ mosque and the symbolism of its epigraphs. Analysis of the amounts spent on this fort as well as other architectural projects is provided by Shireen Moosvi, "Expenditure of Buildings under Shah Jahan – A Chapter of Imperial Financial History," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 46th Session*, Amritsar, 1986.

The Persian chroniclers Waris and Kanbo (especially Vol. III) are the most immediate sources for the city of Shahjahanabad and its palace, while Bernier and Manucci, mentioned above, provide useful descriptions from a European view. The most thorough English language description is the *List*; Vol. I, *Shahjahanabad*, is devoted to the walled city and palace as they appeared at the turn of this century. Much of Stephen P. Blake, "Cityscape of an Imperial Capital: Shahjahanabad in 1739," in R. E. Frykenberg (ed.), *Delhi Through the Ages*, Delhi, 1986, analyzes Shah Jahan's construction of the city and palace, and the same author, "Shahjahanabad, Isfahan and Istanbul: Sovereign Cities in Medieval Islam," forthcoming, provides statistics for the population of the city and palace. Other useful sources include Carr Stephen, *The*

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Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, and Sharma, *Delhi and Its Neighbourhood*, as well as H. C. Fanshaw, *Shah Jahan's Delhi – Past and Present*, London, 1902. All of these authors owe a tremendous debt to Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar al-Sanadid*. This work has been translated into English by R. Nath, *Monuments of Delhi*, New Delhi, 1979.

For the Shahjahanabad palace, see Gordon Sanderson, "Shah Jahan's Fort, Delhi," *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1911–12*, Calcutta, 1915, where relevant Persian passages are translated and reference is made to earlier reports on the fort. In addition to works mentioned in conjunction with the imperial city, Ebba Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus*, provides a detailed analysis of the Public Audience Hall throne and its symbolism. John Burton-Page, "The Red Fort," in Mortimer Wheeler (ed.), *Splendors of the East*, New York, 1965, contains a useful discussion with drawings that show how the palace originally was divided into quadrangles. Ebba Koch, "Architectural Forms," indicates Shah Jahan's conscious modeling of the Shahjahanabad Jamiᶜ mosque on Akbar's at Fatehpur Sikri. The inscriptions on the city's Jamiᶜ mosque have been considered in terms of their religious and political significance by Wayne E. Begley, "The Symbolic Role of Calligraphy on Three Imperial Mosques," while the entire text is in Volume I of the *List*. Monuments outside the walled city, such as Raushan Ara's tomb or the Shalimar Bagh, are found in Volumes II–IV of the *List*, as well as in more general texts on the monuments of Delhi. These, however, tend to be descriptive, not analytical. Bernier, *Travels*, gives a useful account of Shalimar which he claims was the emperor's country estate.

Jeffery A. Hughes, "Shah Jahan's Lal-Mahal at Bari and the Tradition of Mughal Hunting Palaces," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1988, provides the sole study of hunting pavilions at Bari, Rupbas and Mahal. The one at Sheikhupura has received attention from Rabbani, "Hiran Munara at Shekhupura," and A. N. Khan, "Conservation of the Hiran Minar and Baradari." The summer palace at Faizabad is virtually ignored outside of contemporary Persian chronicles and Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities*. The location of some hunting palaces is often difficult to find on modern maps, so a good source for some, but not all, is Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi, 1982.

For general coverage of Shah Jahan's gardens, see Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden*, and Crowe and Haywood, *The Gardens of Mughal India*. Shah Jahan's revitalization of the Bagh-i Hafiz Rakhna is discussed by Subash Parihar, "A Little-Known Mughal Garden in India: Aam Khas Bagh, Sirhind," *Oriental Art*, 31, 1985–86. There is no detailed study on the Shalimar garden in Kashmir, so the writings of the Persian chroniclers and Bernier, *Travels*, remain important sources. More secondary work has been done on the Lahore Shalimar garden, including Baqir, *Lahore: Past and Present*, who quotes extensively from Persian sources. Also useful are S. R. Dar, *Historical Gardens of Lahore*, Lahore, 1982, and I. H. Nadiem, "The Hydraulics of Shalamar Garden," *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, 43, 1986.

The publications on the Taj Mahal are many, but most repeat unsupported ideas. Muhammad Abdulla Chaghtai, *Le Tadj Mahal d'Agra*, Brussels, 1938, remains a classic. It was the same author, in "A Family of Great Mughal Architects," *Islamic Culture*, XI, 1937, who first recognized Ustad Ahmad as the architect of the Taj. Nath, *The Immortal Taj*, is a useful introduction to the building's origins and appearance. W. E. Begley and Z. A. Desai, *Taj Mahal: The Illumined Tomb*, Cambridge and Seattle, 1989, is a superb compilation of seventeenth-century Mughal and European documentary sources on this famus tomb. It has many plates. Certainly the most

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innovative work on the Taj Mahal is contained in two articles by Wayne E. Begley, "The Myth of the Taj Mahal and a New Theory of its Symbolic Meaning," *Art Bulletin*, LVI, 1, 1979, and "Amanat Khan and the Calligraphy of the Taj Mahal," cited earlier.

Although many passing references are made to the architectural patronage of Jahan Ara and Dara Shukoh, they are the focus of no single study. Sarda, *Ajmer*, and Currie, *The Shrine and Cult of Muᶜin al-Din Chishti*, remain the best secondary sources for the princess' patronage at the shrine of Muᶜin al-Din. Her construction of Mulla Shah's mosque is discussed by Kanbo: III, and ᶜInayat Khan, *The Shah Jahan Nama of ᶜInayat Khan*. Bernier, *Travels*, is the only European who mentions the mosque, which he calls a hermitage. Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Dara Shikuh: Life and Works*, New Delhi, 1982, reveals documentation for Jahan Ara's devotion to Mulla Shah. Persian chronicles, especially Kanbo, are excellent sources for Jahan Ara's garden at Achibal, but Bernier, *Travels*, also provides insight. Illustrations are in Crowe and Haywood, *The Gardens of Mughal India*, although they credit the entire garden to Jahangir's reign; the same work is also a good source for Dara Shukoh's Pari Mahal. Jahan Ara's patronage of Chauburji was first proposed by M. Abdulla Chughtai, "The So-Called Gardens and Tombs of Zeb-un-Nisa at Lahore," *Islamic Culture*, IX, 1935. Subsequent writers such as M. W. U. Khan, *Lahore and its Important Monuments*, tentatively accept this attribution.

Bernier, *Travels*, specifically states that building in Shahjahanabad was one way to win imperial favor. Yet the official chronicles offer considerably less insight into sub-imperial architectural patronage during Shah Jahan's reign. Instead, biographies of the nobility, such as the *Maasir* and Bhakkari, *Dhakhirat al-Khawanin*, and inscriptions on the buildings themselves are of primary value. The monuments of Thatta are best covered by Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, Islamabad, 1982, while an article in Sindhi by Sayyid Hussamudin Rashidi, whose title may be translated "Thatta City's Older Geography," *Mehran*, 21, 3/4, 1972, transcribes inscriptions on the Thatta Jamiᶜ mosque. Epigraphic and textual evidence for construction in Ahmadabad during Shah Jahan's reign is provided by M. A. Chaghatai, "Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad through their Inscriptions," and ᶜAli Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*. Aᶜzam Khan's serai is in Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, and more recently in J. Burton-Page, "Mosques and Tombs." S. H. Desai, *Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Saurashtura*, Junagarh, 1980, publishes the inscriptions of Aᶜzam Khan's Ranpur buildings.

The sources for sub-imperial architecture in Ajmer have been cited previously: Sarda, *Ajmer*, and Tirmizi, *Ajmer through Inscriptions*. In general they deal little with the structures themselves, but with epigraphs and history. In Rajasthan outside of Ajmer, Desai, *Published Muslim Inscriptions of Rajasthan*, is a key source for epigraphic information, although few of the buildings on which these inscriptions are placed have been published. Imperial orders affecting the Makrana quarries are in Begley and Desai, *Taj Mahal: The Illumined Tomb*. Additional information on the Makrana quarries is in K. K. Seghal (ed.), *Rajasthan District Gazetteers: Nagaur*, Jaipur, 1975.

Comments of European travelers such as Manrique and Bernier are useful for understanding Lahore's cityscape. The work of Wazir Khan, a major sub-imperial patron, is mentioned by Bhakkari, *Dhakhirat al-Khawanin*, and in the *Maasir*. For his Baradari, see Reuther, *Indische Palaste*, and M. Abdullah Chaghatai, *The Wazir Khan Mosque*, Lahore, 1976, for this important mosque and baths. For the Gulabi Bagh gate, M. W. U. Khan, *Lahore and its Important Monuments*, provides current summaries. Only M. Abdullah Chaghatai, *Masajid-e Lahore*, Lahore, 1975, has suggested that the mosque

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attributed to Dai Anga was built by Khwaja Maqbul. For a more traditional view, see most general sources for Lahore's monuments: Khan, Latif and Baqir, all cited earlier.

The serais between Delhi and Lahore are discussed by Wayne E. Begley, "Four Mughal Caravanserais," while his "A Mughal Caravanserai Built and Inscribed by Amanat Khan, Calligrapher of the Taj Mahal," in Asher and Gai (eds.), *Indian Epigraphy*, deals in depth with Serai Amanat Khan. The tomb at Nakodar is in Parihar, *Mughal Monuments in Punjab and Haryana*; *ASIR*: XIV publishes a plan of the tomb but mislabels it as the tomb of Muhammad Mumin. In spite of fine workmanship, Shaikh Chilli's madrasa and tomb are virtually unnoticed with the exception of Parihar, *Mughal Monuments in Punjab and Haryana*, and *ASIR*: II. Shah Jahan-period additions to Bu ᶜAli Qalandar's shrine at Panipat are mentioned in the *Maasir* in conjunction with the career of Muqarrab Khan and by Fuhrer, *The Monumental Antiquities*. The tomb's inscription is in S. Parihar, *Muslim Inscriptions in the Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh*, New Delhi, 1985.

Sub-imperial monuments within the walled city of Shahjahanabad from this time are only in the *List*: I. Although Manrique comments that the nobility pay little attention to the shrine of Nizam al-Din, Kanbo indicates that the emperor himself visited the shrine from time to time. Zafar Hasan, *Nizamu-d Din*, cites epigraphs recording Khalil Allah's provision of a new veranda at the tomb. The *List*: II supplies inscriptional evidence indicating that a new serai was built close to the shrine.

Almost all Europeans traveling in India commented on Agra's size, but notable among them are Bernier, Tavernier and Mundy. The eunuch Firuz Khan is mentioned in Mughal sources, perhaps most succinctly in the *Maasir*, and the tomb has been published most recently by R. Nath, *Some Aspects of Mughal Architecture*, New Delhi, 1976. For plans and illustrations of the Chini-ka Rauza, the best source remains E. Smith, *Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra*, while W. E. Begley, "Amanat Khan and the Calligraphy of the Taj Mahal," posits that the tomb's calligraphic bands were probably designed by Amanat Khan, Azfal Khan's devoted brother. In addition, Amanat Khan's Shahi Madrasa mosque is discussed in this important article as well as in the same author's *Monumental Islamic Calligraphy from India*. Agra's ᶜIdgah is attributed to Shah Jahan in Latif, *Agra, Historical and Descriptive*, and *ASIR*: IV (where a plan is provided), as well as M. A. Chaghatai, *The Badshahi Mosque*, Lahore, 1972; none of these provides reasoning or analysis.

Rustam Khan's patronage in Sambhal and Moradabad can be understood only by consulting several sources. These include: Ganga Prasad and H. Blochmann, "On Sambhal Inscriptions and on Muradabad Inscriptions," *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, May, 1873; the *Maasir*; Bhakkari, *Dhakhirat al-Khawanin*; Joshi (ed.), *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers: Moradabad*; and Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities*.

In general the best sources to consult for Shah Jahan-period work in Bihar are the same as those for Bihar cited in the essay for chapter 4. Of special value among these are Asher, *Islamic Monuments of Eastern India* and Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar*. In addition, comments by contemporary travelers, most notably Mundy, and the *Maasir* are valuable. For an understanding of the complex situation at Rohtas during Shah Jahan's reign, see both K. M. Karim, *Provinces of Bihar and Bengal Under Shahjahan*, Dacca, 1974, and "Sanscrit Inscription on the Slab Removed from above the Kothoutiya Gate of the Fort Rohtas," *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, VIII, 1839; the journal does not credit the author of this article.

A standard work for Bengal during this period is Dani, *Muslim Architecture in*

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Bengal, although it has been updated by Asher, "Inventory," and "The Mughal and Post-Mughal Traditions," in *The Islamic Heritage of Bengal*. Other useful information is included in C. A. E. W. Oldham's appendices in Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton), *Journal of Francis Buchanan*; he summarizes the observations of Europeans who visited the Sangi Dalan in Rajmahal. In addition to Nathan's *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*, Marshall, *John Marshall in India*, gives insight into the additions at Teliagarhi made by Shah Shujaᶜ. This same prince's additions to the Qadam Sharif shrine in Gaur are best outlined in M. Abid Ali, *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, rev. ed., Calcutta, 1931.

To fully understand Shah Jahan's politically motivated destruction of Hindu temples, contemporary Persian sources such as Kanbo must be read in context. Most modern writers, for example Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, have not grasped the context of the Persian sources and so misinterpret the ruler's motivations. Rai Mukand Das' construction in Narnaul is recorded by G. Yazdani, "Narnaul and its Buildings," while his mansion is discussed in Parihar, *Mughal Monuments in the Punjab and Haryana*. The princely palaces of Rajasthan have considerably more coverage than Hindu dwellings elsewhere. The two best sources for Mirza Raja Jai Singh's Amber palace are Reuther, *Indische Palaste*, and Tillotson, *The Rajput Palaces*, although Tillotson at times presents dates and views at variance with those suggested in this volume. Aside from contemporary texts, a good secondary source for Mirza Raja Jai Singh is Jadunath Sarkar, *A History of Jaipur*, rev. ed., New York, 1984. Shah Jahan's imperial decrees are in Begley and Desai, *Taj Mahal: The Ilumined Tomb*. The best and most recent source for Shah Jahan-period temples in Bengal, including photographs and plans, is George Michell (ed.), *Brick Temples of Bengal*.

6 AURANGZEB AND THE ISLAMIZATION OF THE MUGHAL STYLE

Aurangzeb's reign, a complex yet pivotal period, has long fascinated historians, especially those concerned with reasons for Mughal political decline. Yet scant attention has been paid to architecture under this sixth Mughal emperor. In fact Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, 5 vols., Calcutta, 1925–30, swayed by later legend and unreliable evidence, has presented this emperor as a religious zealot who was more eager to destroy than to build. Sarkar's views reflect popular opinion, even among the educated. Well-reasoned views to the contrary have been little noticed, for example S. Moinul Haq in his introduction to Khafi Khan, *Khafi Khan's History of ᶜAlamgir* (tr.), Karachi, 1975, Jnan Chandra, "Aurangzib and Hindu Temples," *Pakistan Historical Society*, 5, 1953, and S. N. Sinha, *Subah of Allahabad under the Great Mughals*, New Delhi, 1974. When Aurangzeb ordered the destruction of temples, he did so for political not religious reasons, as indicated, for example, by events leading to the destruction of the Keshava Deva temple at Mathura described in Saqi Mustᶜad Khan, *Maasir-i ᶜAlamgiri*; the demolition of temples in Cooch Behar is described by Khafi Khan, *Khafi Khan's History of ᶜAlamgir*. He also provides information on the destruction of temples in Rajasthan, as do Saqi Mustᶜad Khan, *Maasir-i ᶜAlamgiri*, and Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i ᶜAlamgiri*. Indication of Mughal maintenance of temples is in Mukherjee and Habib, "Akbar and the Temples of Mathura," and "The Mughal Administration and the Temples of Vrindavan." A document indicating Aurangzeb's appreciation of Ellora is presented in ᶜInayat Allah Khan Kashmiri, *Kalimat-i Taiyibat* (tr.), Delhi, 1982, while Saqi Mustᶜad Khan, *Maasir-i ᶜAlamgiri* also admires Ellora's beauty. J. Chandra, "Aurangzib and Hindu Temples," indicates that contrary to popular belief Aurangzeb supported temples throughout his reign.

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A number of contemporary sources provides insight into Aurangzeb's attitude toward the construction and maintenance of mosques. Khafi Khan, *Khafi Khan's History of ʿAlamgir*, and ʿAqil Khan Razi, *Waqiʿat-i ʿAlamgiri* (tr.), Delhi, 1946, indicate Aurangzeb's interest in repairing old mosques. Aurangzeb's own letters, *Rukaʿat-i ʿAlamgiri* (tr.), reprint ed., Delhi, 1972, and Saqi Mustʿad Khan, *Maasir-i ʿAlamgiri*, relate the emperor's concern for the maintenance of mosques. Saqi Mustʿad Khan also cites Aurangzeb's orders for the construction of new mosques and relates that he once even involved himself in the manual labor. When he captured forts in the Deccan, Aurangzeb frequently ordered the construction of a mosque, although none has been published. Sidney Toy, *Strongholds of India*, London, 1957, mentions a fort, Shivner, with a surviving Mughal-period mosque, but neither describes nor illustrates it. ʿInayat Allah Khan Kashmiri, *Kalimat-i Taiyibat*, records an order issued for the burial of unused building materials. Contemporary sources for Aurangzeb's Moti mosque are Saqi Mustʿad Khan, *Maasir-i ʿAlamgiri*, Muhammad Kazim, *ʿAlamgir Nama*, Calcutta, 1868, and Tavernier, *Travels in India*. The Moti mosque, despite its fame, has received little scholarly attention. Brown, *Indian Architecture, Islamic Period*, provides the best analysis of this mosque. Chaghatai's monograph, *The Badshahi Mosque*, presents much useful information about this Lahore mosque. Baqir, *Lahore; Past and Present*, provides additional information. There is no single source for the Mathura ʿIdgah. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, discusses the temple upon which it was built. Contemporary sources for events leading to the mosque's construction include Saqi Mustʿad Khan, *Maasir-i ʿAlamgiri*, and Ishwardas Nagar, *Futuhat-i ʿAlamgiri*. Later accounts of the ʿIdgah are by Joseph Tieffenthaler, *Description Historique et Géographique de l'Inde*, 5 vols., Berlin, 1786, and Growse, *Mathura: A District Memoir*. *ASIR*: I illustrates a plan of the building.

Imperial orders recorded by ʿInayat Allah Khan Kashmiri, *Kalimat-i Taiyibat*, provide insight into Aurangzeb's attitudes toward royal tombs and saints' shrines. Other useful sources are Saqi Mustʿad Khan, *Maasir-i ʿAlamgiri*, and Nagar, *Futuhat-i ʿAlamgiri*. The prince Aurangzeb's concern for the Taj Mahal's maintenance is in Begley and Desai, *Taj Mahal: The Illumined Tomb*. For Khuldabad and Aurangzeb's tomb there, Khafi Khan, *Khafi Khan's History of ʿAlamgir*, and *Maharashtra State Gazetteers: Aurangabad District*, Bombay, 1977, are the best sources. Aurangzeb's attitude toward palaces, gardens and fortifications is found in contemporary sources: Khafi Khan, *Khafi Khan's History of ʿAlamgir*; Saqi Mustʿad Khan, *Maasir-i ʿAlamgiri*, Kazim, *ʿAlamgir Nama*, Nagar, *Futuhat-i ʿAlamgiri*, Kashmiri, *Kalimat-i Taiyibat*, and Aurangzeb, *Rukaʿat-i ʿAlamgiri*. Discussion of Aurangzeb's gates at the Shahjahanabad palace is in the *List*: I.

Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, is the most accessible source for members of Aurangzeb's family. For their patronage, however, there is no single source. The most recent discussion of the Bibi-ka Maqbara is in W. E. Begley, "ʿAta Allah," *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, Vol. I, New York, 1982, and it includes a useful bibliography. Valuable documents relating to this tomb's construction are in M. A. Nayeem, *Mughal Documents: Catalogue of Aurangzeb's Reign*, Vol. I, part I, Hyderabad, 1980. For work in Delhi, several sources, all catalogue-like in nature, are useful. Jahan Ara's tomb is in Hasan, *Nizamu-d Din*, while the now destroyed tombs of Zeb al-Nisa and Zinat al-Nisa are in Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar al-Sanadid*. Zinat al-Nisa's mosque is discussed by Sayyid Ahmad Khan as well as by Sharma, *Delhi and Its Neighbourhood*, Carr Stephen, *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, and the *List*: I. This volume of the *List* includes a map of the

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walled city indicating the location of each monument, although no illustrations are provided.

As is the case for the entire Mughal period, sub-imperial work is sorely neglected. The sources for buildings in Ajmer are the same as noted in previous chapters: Sarda, *Ajmer*, and Tirmizi, *Ajmer through Inscriptions*. As noted earlier these works are concerned largely with inscriptions and history, with less emphasis on the monuments themselves. The Merta Jamiᶜ mosque's inscriptions are in Desai, *Published Muslim Inscriptions of Rajasthan*, while the only published plate of the mosque building is in Seghal (ed.), *Rajasthan District Gazetteers: Nagaur*. Buildings in Ahmadabad have attracted more attention than those elsewhere in western India. Textual evidence for Muhammad Aᶜzam Shah's palace construction is in ᶜAli Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, remains the classic work, but Burton-Page, "Mosques and Tombs," provides excellent plates.

The condition of contemporary Lahore is astutely observed by Bernier, *Travels*. Dai Anga's tomb, the only significant surviving Aurangzeb-period monument there, is in previously mentioned standard books on Lahore: M. W. U. Khan, *Lahore and its Important Monuments* and Latif, *Lahore*. Most monuments along the Lahore–Delhi road are included in Parihar, *Mughal Monuments in Punjab and Haryana*, and some relevant inscriptions are recorded by the same author's *Muslim Inscriptions*. Neera Darabari, *Northern India under Aurangzeb: Social and Economic Condition*, Meerut, 1982, is useful for understanding the need for more caravan serais.

In north India more attention has been paid to the sub-imperial architecture of Delhi than elsewhere. Two important articles for understanding the condition of Delhi during Aurangzeb's reign are Satish Chandra, "Cultural and Political Role of Delhi, 1675–1725," and Blake, "Cityscape of an Imperial Capital," both in Frykenberg (ed.), *Delhi Through the Ages*. In general, structures inside the walled city are in the *List*: I, while those outside the Shahjahanabad city walls are in the *List*: II. These volumes, prepared as an administrative manual, are invaluable for locating monuments, but contain neither analysis nor plates. In addition, see Hasan, *Nizamu-d Din*, for the doors to Amir Khusrau's tomb, *ASIR*: IV for the mosque of Nasir Daulat, and S. M. Yunus Jaffery's unpublished MS., "The Madrasa-i Ghaziuddin," for buildings south of the city. The Mathura Jamiᶜ mosque is discussed by Brown, *Indian Architecture, Islamic Period*, and Growse, *Mathura: A District Memoir*, while Saqi Mustᶜad Khan, *Maasir-i ᶜAlamgiri*, is a useful contemporary source. Although fine monuments, the mosques of Gwalior and Benares remain largely unnoticed by modern scholars. The best source for the Gwalior Jamiᶜ mosque remains *ASIR*: II, although notations correcting its location are in *ARIE*, 1969–70. Muᶜtamad Khan, *qalᶜadar* of the Gwalior fort, is mentioned in contemporary histories, notably those by Khafi Khan and Saqi Mustᶜad Khan. Sinha, *Subah of Allahabad under the Great Mughals*, provides the best rationale for Aurangzeb's destruction of the Vishvanath temple in Benares, although J. Chandra, "Aurangzib and Hindu Temples," is also helpful. The destroyed temple whose style indicates that it dates to the late sixteenth century is described by Tavernier, *Travels in India*. A plan and drawing of the temple as well as the Gyanvapi mosque built from its ruined walls are provided by James Prinsep, *Benares Illustrated*, Calcutta, 1833. The Jamiᶜ mosque at Benares' Panchganga Ghat was also illustrated by Prinsep in the same volume, although the more famous view is by the Daniells in Archer, *Early Views of India*. Pierre-Daniel Couté and Jean-Marie Leger, *Benares, un Voyage Architectural*, Paris, 1989, are the only modern authors to consider the Benares mosques.

The sources for Bihar mentioned in the essay for chapter 4 remain the best for this

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same area during Aurangzeb's reign. These include works by Asher, Ahmad, Kuraishi and Patil. For Bengal a standard work is Dani, *Muslim Architecture in Bengal*; Asher, "Inventory," and "The Mughal and Post-Mughal Periods," provide more recent analysis. S. M. Ashfaque, *Lalbagh Fort*, Karachi, 1970, is a useful monograph on the Lalbagh garden complex. For the flourishing Hindu building tradition in Bengal, Michell (ed.), *Brick Temples of Bengal*, gives the fullest picture. Sub-imperial architecture in eastern India remains much better studied than that in the Deccan. Only Desai, "Mughal Architecture," ch. IV (iii) in Sherwani (ed.), *History of the Medieval Deccan*, and the *Maharashtra District Gazetteers: Aurangabad* have considered Aurangzeb-period structures in the Deccan.

7 ARCHITECTURE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR AUTHORITY UNDER THE LATER MUGHALS AND THEIR SUCCESSOR STATES

The extensive bibliography of works on political decline and historical developments under the later Mughals includes hardly a single volume on the arts. A case in point is the fine volume in this series, C. A. Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*, Cambridge, 1988, whose bibliography includes few references to works on the arts. Nevertheless, substantive information can be gleaned from works not specifically devoted to the subject. For example, recent studies by Blake, "Cityscape of an Imperial Capital," and S. Chandra, "Cultural and Political Role of Delhi," indicates that Delhi continued to flourish well into the eighteenth century. For monuments in Delhi prior to 1739, a variety of sources is available. Valuable analysis of Shah ʿAlam's and Farrukh Siyar's provisions at the shrine of Bakhtiyar Kaki is by Ara, *Dargahs*. Although less substantive, Carr Stephen, *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, Sharma, *Delhi and its Neighbourhood*, Fanshaw, *Shah Jahan's Delhi*, and S. A. Khan, *Asar al-Sanadid*, all provide important information. Muhammad Shah's monuments are discussed in the above four sources. In addition, the *List*: I mentions the wooden mosque he built in the Shahjahanabad palace, and Hasan, *Nizamu-d Din*, provides the best discussion of his tomb. Z. Malik, *The Reign of Muhammad Shah*, New York, 1977, discusses Raushan al-Daula, an active patron both before and after the 1739 invasion of Nadir Shah. His mosques and a few others are in Carr Stephen, Fanshaw (where an illustration is provided) and Sayyid Ahmad Khan. But the most extensive coverage for Raushan al-Daula's mosques and others within the walled city is in the *List*: I. The Tripolia and Jai Singh's observatory, outside the city walls, are in the *List*: II. Mention of these is also in Carr Stephen, Sharma and S. A. Khan. A detailed account of Sawai Jai Singh and his observatory is in G. R. Kaye, *The Astronomical Observatories of Jai Singh*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XL, Calcutta, 1918.

S. Chandra, "Cultural and Political Role of Delhi," observes Delhi's quick revival immediately after the 1739 invasion. For post-1739 monuments there is little modern scholarship. H. Goetz, "The Qudsia Bagh at Delhi: Key to Late Mughal Architecture," *Islamic Culture*, XXIV, 1, 1952, remains the main source for Qudsiya Begum's palace and garden complex, although the attitude is dated. Her Sunahri mosque is discussed in *List*: I, S. A. Khan, *Asar al-Sanadid*, and Carr Stephen, while her beneficence at the Qadam Sharif and the Shahi Mardan shrine is in *List*: II and S. A. Khan. Safdar Jang's tomb is included in most general works on the monuments of Delhi (for example, Stephen, S. A. Khan, Brown), while a thorough description is in the *List*: II.

Recently coherent pictures of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Delhi have emerged in N. Gupta, *Delhi Between Two Empires, 1803–31: Society, Government and*

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Urban Growth, Delhi, 1981, and the same author's "Delhi and its Hinterland: The Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in Frykenberg, *Delhi Through the Ages*. In this same volume C. Bayly, "Delhi and Other Cities in North India During the 'Twilight'," and S. Noe, "What Happened to Mughal Delhi: A Morphological Survey," add substantially to this view. Monuments, however, have not been considered in recent work, so the *List*: I remains the only good source for buildings inside the walled city. A very few structures of this date, however, are in Stephen, *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, as well as S. A. Khan, *Asar al-Sanadid*. The *List*: II is the primary source for material outside the walled city, but Volumes III and IV are also of use. Ara, *Dargahs*, and Hasan, *Nizamu-d Din*, should be consulted for work at the Chishti shrines, while Stephen and S. A. Khan provide general information on late Mughal structures south of the walled city.

Published work on architecture in the Mughal hinterlands and the splinter states is uneven. Monuments even in Ajmer remain little studied. In addition to Sarda, *Ajmer*, and Tirmizi, *Ajmer through Inscriptions*, pertinent historical information about the Sayyid family is found in Khafi Khan, "Muntakhab al-Lubab," in H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson (eds.), *History of India as Told by its own Historians*, 8 vols., reprint ed., Allahabad, 1964: VII; and information about Muʿin al-Din's shrine is in Rustam ʿAli, "Tarikh-i Hind," in Vol. VIII of the same series. A good syncretic treatment of Jaipur's history and layout is in A. K. Roy, *History of Jaipur City*, New Delhi, 1978, and more recently in Tillotson, *The Rajput Palaces*. Reuther, *Indische Palaste*, should be consulted for illustrations.

Later Mughal architecture in Lahore is perfunctorily covered in Latif, *Lahore*, and M. W. U. Khan, *Lahore and its Imperial Monuments*. A recent study of a single late Mughal monument is M. Khokhar, "The Tomb of Sharaf un-Nisa Begum Known as Sarvwala Maqbara at Lahore," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 3, 1982. Architecture under the Sikhs needs more modern consideration, but for now see P. S. Arshi, *Sikh Architecture in the Punjab*, New Delhi, 1986, and the same author's *The Golden Temple*, New Delhi, 1989. For the late Mughal history of the Agra region, see Bayly, "Delhi and Other Cities in North India." The palaces at Dig and Bharatpur are discussed by Tillotson, *The Rajput Palaces*, while M. C. Joshi, *Dig*, New Delhi, 1971, is a good monograph on the site and contains a useful bibliography. The only source for late Mughal Mathura and Govardhan remains Growse, *Mathura: A District Memoir*, while some of the temples at Brindavan are listed in Roy, *History of Jaipur City*.

The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century architecture of Awadh, unlike contemporary material in Delhi and most of north India, is the subject of much recent scholarship. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *A Fatal Friendship: The Nawabs, the British, and the City of Lucknow*, Delhi, 1985, is an excellent work on the architecture of the Awadh nawabs. Keith Hjortshoj, *Urban Structures and Transformations in Lucknow, India*, Cornell University Press, 1979, is a careful study of the transformation of public and private spaces in Lucknow. Two works by B. Tandon are concerned with the morphology of buildings in Faizabad and Lucknow: "The Architecture of the Nawabs of Avadh Between 1722 and 1856 A.D.: A Descriptive Inventory and an Analysis of Types," dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1978, and "The Architecture of the Nawabs of Avadh, 1722–56," in R. Skelton, A. Topsfield, S. Strong and R. Crill (eds.), *Facets of Indian Art*, London, 1986. Joshi (ed.), *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers: Faizabad*, is another useful source. For an insightful picture of Nawabi Lucknow culture, see A. H. Sharar, *Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture* (tr.), Boulder, 1975.

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In spite of the fame of Benares, P. Couté and J. Leger, *Benares, un Voyage Architectural*, is the only modern consideration of its structural remains. The most extensive coverage for late Mughal architecture in Bihar is Asher, *Islamic Monuments of Eastern India*, although additional coverage of the tomb of Shamsher Khan is in Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments*. Patil, *The Antiquarian Remains*, includes some of the works discussed here, while Ahmad, *Corpus of Persian and Arabic Inscriptions of Bihar*, discusses inscriptions on the buildings, but not the structures themselves.

The classic works on Murshidabad are J. H. T. Walsh, *A History of Murshidabad District*, London, 1902, P. C. Majumdar, *The Musnud of Murshidabad*, Murshidabad, 1905, and L. S. S. O'Malley, *Murshidabad*, Calcutta, 1914. More recent studies include Dani, *Muslim Architecture in Bengal*, Asher, "Inventory," and "The Mughal and Post-Mughal Periods." Asher's forthcoming study, "Murshidabad: Regional Revival and Islamic Continuity," in A. L. Dallapiccola and S. Zingel-Ave Lallemant (eds.), *Islam and Indian Regions, 1000–1750 A.D.*, provides a new interpretation of structures there as well as a more substantial bibliography. The palace is best discussed in Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India, 1750–1850*, London, 1968.

ADDENDUM

Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of its History and Development (1526–1858)*, Munich, 1991, appeared too late to be included in the bibliographical essay. A particular strength of this book is its discussion of the morphology of Mughal buildings. Its plates and especially its plans serve as an excellent companion to this volume.

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